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LADY PALMERSTON
AND HER TIMES



EMILY, COUNTESS OF SHAFTESBURY.

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LADY PALMERSTON AND HER TIMES

BY

MABELL, COUNTESS OF AIRLIE

AUTHOR OF 'IN WHIG SOCIETY'

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II

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Airlie, Mabell, Countess
of, 1866-1956.

Lady Palmerston and her
times,
1922.

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CHAPTER XIII

QUEEN VICTORIA AND LORD MELBOURNE

A CHANGE took place in Lady Cowper's life late in the year 1839. She had very gradually resumed her place in the world after Lord Cowper's death, but it was a changed world for her. Her home was gone, and in her diaries she says, "how difficult it is to know where to go, and how best to live." She recorded a visit to Panshanger where she had been happier than she expected, but there was a note of relief in her account of the journey back to London on February 5, and an amusing sidelight on the new railways. She posted back. "Great complaints," she wrote, "at the Green Man of the rail-road taking all the travellers. I fear it will be ruin to posting. The tax must clearly be taken off post horses as a little help." Next day she gave an account of the opening of Parliament by the Queen in person :

"Minny and Fanny went to the House of Lords to hear the Queen read her speech. They came home charmed with their expedition. Most people were in feathers, but they had only diamonds for their full dress. They said

the Queen's delivery very clear & distinct and a beautiful toned voice."

But her thoughts wandered back to past days—and the references to them are numerous. A dinner at home of her family and one old friend made her write :

"All kind & good-humoured and melancholy. The Spirits were forced & all one's thoughts were far away on the one kind heart who used to cheer all these meetings by good humour, and enlivened by his conversation."

On April 6 she wrote :

"Anniversary of my dear mother's death. Tho' 21 years have passed since then, I can yet feel as if it were but yesterday that Lord C. and I stood over her beautiful pale face, & he felt almost the same misery as I did; now I remain to grieve over both."

Her brothers felt her loneliness and *désœuvrement* keenly. They were anxious for her happiness, and yet they must have hesitated in doubt as to the best way of remaking her life. She was nearly fifty-two, but remained handsome and stately. When Queen Victoria said to Lord Melbourne that she thought Lady Cowper was still better looking than younger women, he answered proudly that he agreed, and that "she was always like a pale rose," adding with glee that he had thought "her gown the night before rather dashing." These things, however,

are not sufficient for happiness even at fifty-two, and this her brothers felt.

The Ministry were weak and in difficulties. Much discontent existed, and the want of prosperity at home was supposed to be due to the import duty on foreign corn. Lord Brougham drew attention to this in the House of Lords on February 18, 1839. He did not anticipate much fall in the price here even though the duties were rescinded. He pointed out that though, as was hoped, the removal of the import duty would make it worth while for the Continent to be turned into a vast granary for the support of England, this plan must be approached with caution as it would take years to clear the land of the thick and impenetrable forests which covered it and bring it into a state of cultivation. The Ministry were against an inquiry into the subject, which was negatived without a division at the time, but the question crops up often in Sir Frederick's letters.

Sir Frederick was also much preoccupied about affairs in India. Lord Auckland had succeeded Lord Bentinck as Viceroy in 1836. The secret policy of Russia since the days of Peter the Great had ever aimed at the conquest of India, and our Foreign Office knew well that Russia was making efforts to incite the Shah of Persia against Afghanistan, and also to open negotiations with the Amir Dost Mahommed at Cabul. The Viceroy, disregarding the advice

of the military and diplomatic authorities, decided to displace the Amir in favour of Shah Shuja, who had lost the throne in 1810 and had never been able to recover it. In the winter of 1838-39 a British force under Keane advanced by way of Sind and was joined by the pretender at Kandahar. Dost Mahommed, whose troops would not fight, fled to the Hindu Kush. In August 1839 Keane entered Cabul and placed Shah Shuja on the throne.

To the Countess Cowper from Sir Frederick Lamb.

5th Feby. 1839.

Thanks for yr news about Corn and Belgium. Tell me more about them when more there is. The difficulty about Corn lies in the fixed charges on Estates, and in the public charges borne exclusively by the Land. A time of clamour is ill suited for dealing with such questions, but in our constitution it is only at such a time they can be dealt with at all. I do not believe it safe to let the price of Corn down much below the averages of late years, unless such a measure were to form part of a general revision of our system, and I doubt the practicability of such a revision, even in Peel's hands, who is the only man capable of undertaking it. I am glad Indian Affairs look better, but shall not think them well until I hear that the advance of our army into central Asia is unnecessary and therefore abandoned.

Early in 1839, as a reward for his diplomatic

services, Sir Frederick was created a peer. He chose the name of Beauvale for himself, his family apparently having other views for him. Lady Cowper was still pressing marriage on him, and confiding to him her anxiety about the matrimonial prospects of her youngest daughter Fanny. His letter gave the first hint of that which might make his sister still more anxious to see Fanny settled in life. He nearly always wrote of his sister in the third person as Henriette when he wished to discuss something private.

To the Countess Cowper from Lord Beauvale.

2 March [1839].

Not think Beauvale a pretty name, my Dear, why, I chose it for its beauty. This is what I said to the Stanhope and what She was too discreet to say to you.

Haddon—but Wm is over Haddon, and Haddon is the Duke of Rutland's. Ld Overhaddon won't do.

Boothby—but that is an old family title I know not of whom, but of somebody, and Wm is Boothby Graffoe.

Beauvale—Nobody but Wm is Abbot of Beauvale and the name is beautiful. Are you not convinced?

I could hit on no other. As for W. I don't think you a very good judge of Girls, nor myself either. Was there ever a worse Girl than E. C. except O. whom you particularly regretted? They seem to me all a set of little Devils except

Minny and I'm sure nobody can tell anything about them beforehand—at least not of their good qualities. Their bad ones are often plain enough, but I don't think you show a very nice discrimination of the bad ones of the Girl in question, and I believe myself to know them far better than you do.

To the Countess Cowper from Lord Beauvale.

4th March [1839].

The name Caroline proposes is a relic of poor George's heraldry. If He had lived, He wld have been the man to choose a name. I object to taking the name of another family and turning it into a title. It is unusual and there may be other Claimants. Leventhorpe sounds very pretty, but God only knows how we are connected with it, and we surely have no right to it. Titles should be either nominal or territorial. Our name is ridiculous and we have no right to any other. Beauvale is territorial. We have a clear right to it and nobody else has. *Voilà mes raisons*. I agree in yr character of Glenelg¹ and it eminently fits him to be in the Cabinet without a Department. If anything can be done to soothe his hurt vanity I hope he may yet take the Privy Seal. Durham has finished himself,² but I shall hardly be satisfied with the Govt if they do not mark their sense of his conduct. Cowardice and

¹ Lord Glenelg, Secretary for War and the Colonies, had resigned in February 1839. He was detested in the colonies, and had few friends at home.

² By his tactless conduct as High Commissioner in Canada, May-November 1838.

trimming never answer, and such insubordination which wld be punished in an inferior should not be passed over for their own character.

To the Countess Cowper from Lord Beauvale.

25th [March 1839].

I thought the name had been Beauvale—bel vallis, beau vallon—not Bovale as you write it—beef valley. I hope it is not so—this addition to the already animal character of our house would not fail to draw jokes. Let us hope it is Beauvale. I suppose it's too late to do anything. I am much gratified by P[almerston]'s mention of me in the House and shall tell him so when I have an opportunity. I am busy here with a thing which promises well and will, I hope, be of service to him; take no notice in the meantime. I wrote to Wm about my affair and had done so before about something else, I never do unless there is something positive to say. Normanby¹ instead of Glenelg in his supine state may be a relief, but these changes are never carried through without many disappointed pretensions and much heart burning and vexation; these, I fear, will not have failed Wm this time. I am very glad to learn the Govt are without alarm about India. I conclude from thence that the expedition into Cabool will not take place, but however it may be if things go right I am satisfied.

I see enough of Durham's report² to be sure

¹ Lord Normanby succeeded Lord Glenelg as Secretary for War and the Colonies in February 1839.

² Lord Durham's celebrated *Report on the Administration of Canada*, printed in February 1839.

it ought never to have been published, nor should part of it even have been written except in a most confidential shape to his Govt. It fills up the number of his indiscretions. I believe it to be totally unfitted to found a practical measure upon, and if the Govt attempts it they will repent it, this is my expectation, *sauf erreur*.

When the Queen chooses to marry I shld be disposed for Prussia—not a Son of the King's but a collateral, well spoken of—what think you ?

As to yr house I shld certainly sell it. How hard it is that nobody can live in England without being short of money.

Lord Beauvale's gibes in the following letter, at the "little imprudence" so tenderly alluded to by Lady Cowper, were directed at the view she was likely to take of any action by Lord Auckland, then Viceroy of India. In her match-making way she had always decided that Lord Auckland's sister Emily Eden would be an excellent wife for Lord Melbourne. Miss Eden's description of Lady Cowper and the methods by which she wished to attain this end are contained in a letter to her friend Mrs. Lister in 1832 :

"I have been passing a fortnight at Pan-shanger, went with George for three days and then Lady Cowper made me stay on. It is a most difficult house to get away from, partly because it is so pleasant, and then her dawdling

way of saying, 'Oh no, you can't go, I always understood you were to stay until we go to Brighton,' is more unanswerable than all the cordiality of the kind friends who beg and pray. . . . I was alone with the family, which is so pleasant. I do like Lady Cowper's society so particularly; in short, I like her. She may have a great many faults but I do not see them and it is no business of mine."¹

Lady Cowper's plans had not, in spite of this, succeeded, but the Edens remained dear to her.

To the Countess Cowper from Lord Beauvale.

TREVISO, 5th April [1839].

What made you deny the truth of all the reports about Ldy. Flora² which now turn out to be correct? Yr letter to Bologna avows them, but everybody else had written them to Rome and Naples. Had they been concealed from you, and, more than that, had you been misled about them?

What a thing for us the Belgians signing!³—but Auckland's *little imprudence*, as you tenderly call it, is the Devil. I still hope he will not march upon Cabool. If he confines his operations to Sinde all may be well except his having announced the larger one, but if

¹ Miss Eden's *Letters*, chap. ix, p. 215.

² Lady Flora Hastings. Her case became the subject of excited controversy in February 1839.

³ The Treaty ending the long dispute between the Dutch king and the Belgians, who had revolted in 1830, was accepted by the Belgian Chamber, and was signed by the Belgian minister in London on April 19, 1839.

He undertakes it the only doubt I can have is as to the extent of the mischief to ensue. Tell me however how it happens that I at Naples knowing nothing should judge this little imprudence 3 months sooner than the Ministry at home knowing everything? Did they conceal their real opinion from you, or were they misled? If the latter they are not served nor informed as they ought to be. You know it for an old opinion of mine that they have not the assistance they should have.

When I say these things, they are very apt to be mistaken for ill will, on the contrary they proceed from good will and the wish to see both them and the Country well served.

Take an instance. The merits of Peel's speeches on the Corn Laws (which were excellent) depended greatly on the statistic information upon which they rested, and which quite overthrew the reasoning of his Antagonists. Do you suppose Peel to have poked this out for himself? Not at all, but He has men who furnish him with it. Why has Wm. not? If a private Individual can, how much easier a Prime Minister? The truth is there should be such information conveyed to him upon the important questions in every department. If this could be organized for him it might help him through the terrible Session He has before him—but He must not be harrassed with it. It is a matter which cannot be arranged in a hurry, but I am sure that the system of doing with only clerks and copyists, is inadequate to the very difficult and dangerous questions which He and others of the Heads of Departments have to deal with.

In April 1839 the Melbourne administration was tottering to its fall. The Radical Party was at that time rather like the Irish Party in later years; it had to be conciliated to make a fighting majority on either side. Greville says that Lord John Russell was anxious to make matters easy for Sir Robert Peel should he be called on to form a Ministry. The Jamaica Bill proposed to suspend the constitution of Jamaica for five years on account of the difficulties made by the Assembly over the immediate emancipation of the slaves. Sir Robert chose this measure as the ground for a crisis. Lady Cowper wrote in her diary on April 4th: "We are all anxious about the division Monday (on Jamaica Bill) but if the Radicals do not desert us our Majority will be 25 or 30, although the Tories are making it a party Question." Next day she went to a great party given by Mme. Pozzo, the wife of the Russian Ambassador, in honour of the Hereditary Grand Duke of Russia, afterwards Alexander II., but she could not enjoy herself: "great anxiety about the division to-night. The Tories very factious and the Radicals spiteful. Division alas! only 5 Majority. Ten Radicals went over, and many stood away. The Tories made great exertions to keep their people."

"Next day," she wrote, "the Cabinet met at

2 and after a long discussion determined to resign upon the ground that having so small a majority they could not carry the bill through, and that they believe it to be quite necessary for the welfare of Jamaica. The Grand Duke happened to go to the House of Lords just before William made his speech, and was struck with his manner."

None can fail to understand Lord Melbourne's position. Though he knew himself unable to carry on the Government, he also knew that his opponents were not sufficiently strong to do so without difficulty. His deep and fatherly devotion to the Queen made him shrink from the parting which he knew must ensue. On May 7th he advised Her Majesty to send for the Duke of Wellington, and on the 8th, Lady Cowper noted in her diary :

"The Queen in tears, & miserable. Yesterday she could not appear at dinner. She is trying to be calm and has sent for the Duke of Wellington. Ball at Madame Pozzo's for the Grand Duke. Everybody anxious. Lady Cowley told me the Duke was much struck with the Queen. She said, 'My Lord Duke, I have sent for you with great reluctance. I am grieved to be obliged to part from my present Ministers, and particularly Lord Melbourne whom I look upon as a friend and almost a father, but I feel the necessity of doing so and now I can assure you that I shall act with truth and sincerity towards you.' He declined forming a govern-

ment, and said she must send for Peel, but she made a point that he should take office in the new Government."

The history of this affair is too well known to need describing in detail. Peel, knowing the Queen's fondness for the late Government, not unnaturally wished her to be not entirely surrounded by Whig ladies. The Queen having given up the Lords-in-waiting on party grounds, could not see why she should be parted from all her old women friends. Lady Cowper's account continues :

"Peel saw the Queen to-day¹ three times but they disagreed about the Ladies of the Household. She felt herself ill-used, and wrote off to Wm. to claim his advice and assistance. Next night, May 10th, was the Queen's Ball. The necessities of the moment, entertainments, balls, must have added greatly to the troubles of the young Queen. All was at sixes and sevens ; the results of the last three days have unhinged everybody."

There were many versions of the interview between the Queen and Sir Robert Peel, till it became known that Peel had sent in his resignation when the Queen refused to make any changes in her Household. The Whigs met on Sunday, May 12, and agreed to support her but to reconstitute the Ministry. Lady Cowper noted

¹ Peel saw the Queen on May 9.

on May 13 that "Peel gave an explanation in the Commons though none was given in the Lords. People still very glum." It is impossible to avoid being sorry for Lord Melbourne, hampered by his past, worn out with conflict, his natural indolence of character making office of little account to him. But he had so respectful an admiration and affection for the Queen and such a knowledge of her character, that he felt himself specially qualified to be her guide. "The Queen said to Melbourne when he brought her the news, 'I was sure you would not desert me.'"¹ When he announced his return to power in the House of Lords, it was, Lady Cowper continues, "in a beautiful speech in explanation of the Queen's conduct. The Queen looked very gay and elated at the Duchess of Gloucester's ball² and said to me: 'Lord M. has been dining with me to-day.'" The Government were still anxious. They were uncertain about the feeling in the country over recent events, and about the size of their majority in the Commons. A by-election took place at Hertford at this critical moment, and Lady Cowper's son William was returned as member. On May 21 she wrote thankfully: "William's majority 19—Great excitement and anxiety as being the first election since the Queen and Sir Robert's disagreement."

¹ Lady Cowper's *Diary*, 1839.

² May 14.

To the Countess Cowper from Lord Beauvale.

22 April 1839.

I've got yrs of 12th. The change in yr calculations does not surprise me, for I had reckoned upon it. Still I don't think the Ministers out yet. The mischief is that these attempts to oust them drive them to the Radicals. It is the undermining process which I fear, not the blowing up. Upon the whole I think I am glad of my Peerage, and the fees they have called for are something less than I expected.

Every thing you tell me about the Queen is delicious, but I perceive a violent feeling against her on the other side. I suppose it is but the being out, and would change if they came in. You have all yr own newspapers against you because you are not Radical enough for them. They want to drive you to measures which would end by throwing the Govt into the hands of the low Rads, themselves included, and the Tories play their game. This is the whole history of yr position. The remedy may be what you indicate if the Whigs are turned out by the Radicals, *c'est à dire*, support given by Whigs to a Tory Govt., but I never see such support either honest or lasting, witness that given of late by Tories to a Whig Govt. *Fra due litiganti il terzo gode*, and this third is the Radical party. Such is our position and such it will remain. Let individuals preserve their own credit and character. These will always be of value and may be of use. While the Girls prefer dancing to marrying, let them dance; when their mind changes, let them marry if they can. I know no other rule.

To the Countess Cowper from Lord Beauvale.

12 May [1839].

I feel the bitterness of the Tory Ladies to the Queen, and I see in them a bitterness of feeling which infects every thing. This is a pity and of course reacts upon her—but there is no remedy. The Hastings affair ¹ is one of the vilest and most disgraceful, in the party colour which has been given to it and the purposes to which it has been turned, that ever I knew. I quite agree with Duke Wellington as to publishing no statement. If the Holy Ghost were to publish one, it would only serve as aliment for the vile press, and as a field to run a new tournament in. If any paper outstepping the bounds make itself amenable to the law, then I am for prosecuting—this is the only statement worth making; in that case it comes with an authority which silences the press. Think of that Brougham wanting more liberty of the press at Malta. How admirable is Duke W[ellington]'s speech about it. The Commissioners He chose, for it was *He who chose them*, have played the Devil already, and He wants more, and now I see a claim is setting up for the same in the Ionian Islands. It is in these things I think (speaking from the superficial knowledge one has at a distance) the leaders of the Ministry too soft towards their Radical supporters. I

¹ An allusion to the scandal about Lady Flora Hastings, daughter of the Marquess of Hastings and lady-in-waiting at Buckingham Palace, which was used in a most disagreeable manner by the Tory ladies. A statement on the subject was published. The young lady, whose illness ~~was~~ misinterpreted, died in the summer of this year.



EMILY, COUNTESS COWPER, afterwards VISCOUNTESS
PALMERSTON.

After Lucas. By kind permission of the Trustees of the National Portrait Gallery

would rather turn sharp upon them and let the Tories try their chance with what support I could give them, than be the instrument of such pernicious measures. Somehow or other I have missed D[u]ke of Newcastle's correspondence with Chancellor. Like you I regret it, nothing makes people so furious as these dismissals.¹

Lady Cowper, like Lord Beauvale, was anxious about Lord Melbourne's health, and an entry in her diary says: "I think Ministers should be paid at an extra rate like any other unhealthy trade. Quicksilver mines and cotton mills are not so hurtful as constant anxiety and work, and worry."

To the Countess Cowper from Lord Beauvale.

17 May [1839].

Just got yrs of 8th, between telegraphs and Jews, news is always anticipated. We knew yesterday Peel's failure and the reason, having all the diatribes of the Evening papers about it. The day before I had been preparing my packets; now it seems to me that the old Ministry may last some time longer. I regret

¹ The fourth Duke of Newcastle, the father of Mr. Gladstone's friend, was dismissed from his post as Lord-Lieutenant of the County of Nottingham owing to the violent manner in which he objected in April 1839 to one of the Magistrates—a Whig and a Dissenter—appointed by the Lord Chancellor. The Lord Chancellor (Lord Cottenham) invited him to withdraw the letter. The Duke refused, and was deprived of his office. The Duke of Wellington, to whom the Duke appealed, told him that he had deserved his dismissal.

it. Wm. had got so well out of it. They were quite right to resign, and fortune in their resignation had separated them from the Radicals. Nothing could stand better. Now He cannot refuse the Queen, and his position will be full of thorns. Peel's conduct is to us here incomprehensible. Pray give me all the secret history you can in its minutest details. These cannot be anticipated and they are full of interest. I foresee in this a natural occasion for Wm. to explain the Hastings business, which cannot but be a great advantage. At present it seems to me as if the Queen had acted in it hastily and harshly, which most young girls w[ou]ld have done also: but never was an error so unjustly visited upon one. They are right not to have stated his case and theirs, but if the necessity for it arises, *tant mieux*. Upon the first telegraph I immediately took my measures to talk. Pray tell me about Wm. in all yr letters, I shall be ready to come to him whenever He wishes it, in as far at least as it depends on me. No human strength can go on Session after Session without breaking down.

I am quite pleased at the dearth of men, which I have long preached, having at length made itself felt. It comes from our youths being all bred to talk and not to act.

To the Countess Cowper from Lord Beauvale.

24 May [1839].

Peel has behaved, as C. Greville says, like an Idiot, and the odd thing is to have done it

with a couple of examples within our own memory. Wm. could do no otherwise than resume. I regret it, for yr letters shew me how much it tells upon his health, and others say more, much more. Still He could do no otherwise. As to the Jamaica Bill I believe our policy towards those Colonies to have gone far to destroy them, and to be in progress towards completing the work; of the Bill itself I know nothing, and we cannot help ourselves out of the scrape, the Saints and Women have it all their own way, and no one dares even tell them what they are doing. If this policy¹ could be reversed it wld be worth 10 changes of Ministry, but I suppose it cannot. I have this moment read Wm's speech and am much pleased with it. That of Duke [of] W[ellington] reads to me unnecessarily and unwarrantably bitter. This is generally the case when people talk of their moderation.

Next comes the question, how is the Govt to go on? and to this I can find no answer. Write me all and everything. Bless you.

What funny devils the Girls are! Who wld ever have expected Fy's turn about E.² I don't think She has behaved well to him. Minny's speech to me in former days was the truth about Ashley: "If I am not to marry him, I ought not to have had anything to do with him." I shld make Fy understand this if I was you, or she may get into the practice—the worst of all practices. Bless you.

¹ The emancipation of the slaves.

² Lady Fanny Cowper had broken off her engagement. Lady Cowper wrote in her diary, "He went off in despair,"

To the Countess Cowper from Lord Beauvale.

17 June [1839].

I've been rather idle of late, but though yr letters were full of interest to read, they gave me nothing to answer. What a determination there has been, to find additional motives to add on to the very clear and full explanations given in both Houses! If facts furnish not aliment enough to party spirit, lies must come in to help them. One, at least I suppose it such, has been written out here, that the Queen had decided Wm. to resume by telling him that, if He refused, She should send for Normanby and O'Connell. If this is a positive lie as I suppose,¹ pray tell me so. I am amazed at what you tell me, that Peel shld feel irritation at what passed between them; but there is a great deal in his conduct daily which marks littleness of spirit. The Duke, on the other hand, comes beautifully out of it. My chief feeling is one of vengeance against the press, and it's an unlucky feeling as there is no gratifying it. I am delighted to hear of Wm's health, and I hope the worst of his troubles are over for this session. His attitude and that of J. Russell are very noble, and I hope they will persevere in them, but I doubt not they are assailed on all sides. Macaulay's speech is a most able one, but my gratification at it, is more than overthrown by his elaborate advocacy of ballot. There is not a word He says in its favor which is of any real value, and yet his speech gives an infinite additional weight to the question.

¹ It was.

Much as such a recruit is wanted, I wld rather be without him upon those terms, because upon those terms I wld rather lose than win the battle. I feel that Wm and J. Russell will be overborne, and yet those two are worth all the rest of the party put together.

They tell me M[a]d[am]e de Lieven's niece could stand it no longer. I don't wonder at it. They say She was *roide comme une planche* with her Sons about money, who on their side behaved very ill. I try to keep liking her but I feel it a relief to you that She don't go to England.

To the Countess Cowper from Lord Beauvale.

20 June [1839].

In politicks there never was a period after the dissolution at which our friends could have done anything. Palmerston wld then have stood firm, but Wm., as is customary with him whenever there is a great *sottise* to be committed, had chosen that moment to cease entirely to see his old friends, and to throw himself into the arms of his worst enemies, for as such I look upon the Hollands. Here is the whole history of the affair. At no one moment since could they have done anything. Nor can they now. These French events,¹ the return of the King to his senses, though he shews it in a foolish way, may tend to bring back many into the right path, and if the Country calms, as it

¹ Louis-Philippe had at last bowed to the will of the Chamber by dismissing M. Molé on March 8, 1839, and accepting a Coalition Ministry, headed by the veteran Marshal Soult, on May 19, 1839.

probably will, there may yet be opportunities to do good—but the tact and energy to profit by them, do they exist? Have we any reason to count upon them?

The appointments you mention are bad ones, but what can they do? They must appoint the people who have served them. As to Macaulay's, I don't blame it.¹ The sooner such a horse is got into harness the better. While He remains out, there is no answering what tricks He may take to. Bagot's appointment is a very good one and does credit to Palmerston, but I see it exposes him to the attacks of that atrocious Jacobinical Press, which aims at an absolute dictation over all the affairs great and small of the whole country. How it is to be put down I know not, but at present it usurps a Government over the Government and which I believe to be in the long run incompatible with either private integrity or happiness or with the honest performance of public duty. My belief is that the Whigs could put it down if they would, but seeing who they are how should they will it? I am very glad P[almerston] gets the Bath, because of the effect, otherwise it can give him but small pleasure. As to the Ministers putting down the political unions and so forth, how can the Duke of W[ellington] expect it?² If they w[ou]ld, I should adore them but you might as well ask the mice to catch the rats.

¹ Macaulay did not, however, become Secretary at War till September 1839.

² The Birmingham Political Union was now losing ground to the Chartists, who presented a petition which the House of Commons refused to receive,

To the Countess Cowper from Lord Beauvale.

June 23d. 1839.

It is astonishing what a time it takes before attention is roused in England or events appreciated there. When they are, we make rout enough. Here is war probably begun between the Sultan and the Pacha,¹ and, if timely measures are not taken, we may hear before a month is over that the Russians are again in the Bosphorus, and Heaven only knows what may follow. Yet although this situation has been understood and represented for more than a month past, no one in England seems yet to have paid any attention to it. It will force itself, however, upon their notice, and it is not until I know how they mean to deal with it that my plans can be fixed. Perhaps my best course would be to run home at once, *sauf* to come back in six weeks if necessary, but their regulations render this impossible. I cannot leave except for a long spell. This, however, need not affect yr plans—if you came to the Rhine I sld find you there, if not, in England. You must settle without considering me at all, and whenever I can fix I will frame my course to tally with yrs.

As to Henriette's² case it is clear. She is not called upon to make her line depend upon that of the Girl. Fy has had her choice, if She will not take it it's her own affair. Yr letter, however, speaks as if She had not finally determined. If this is so, I shld think it fair

¹ Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt.

² That is, Lady Cowper herself.

to her to let her understand the whole case before She decides, as it may very probably influence her decision. For myself I thought E—— one of the nicest youths I ever saw, and Fy refusing him can hardly understand her real position. I know what uphill work it is for the Girls if they miss the right moment, and how little marriage comes out of how much admiration, which said admiration all ceases one morning without a reason and a quizzing takes its place. We have seen not one instance of these things but hundreds. Have you conversed with Minny about it? She is wonderfully right headed and straight forwards. I knew ballot would prevail and I think told you that Wm. and John Russell wld be overborne. There are situations which indicate what is coming as clearly as second sight.

To the Countess Cowper from Lord Beauvale.

30 June [1839].

Just got yrs, my Drst Em, of 20th, sent for Courier,—come by post. You are a real good Girl to write so much, and I profit by an Austrian Courier to tell you so. You say it's House of Commons which retards the business in our Office, it may be so but the effect is not good abroad. I agree with you about national education, it is madness to touch these questions, but I suppose them forced to it by their own supporters.¹ As to the Anglican Church with its pretension to infallibility one should suppose

¹ Much to Lord Melbourne's alarm, Lord John Russell had insisted that the Government should lay the foundations of a national system of education, by setting up a Committee of the Privy Council

it directly descended from the Apostles, instead of being itself a petty schism some 300 years old. It mistakes itself for the Catholic Church, but these things are not good to say. I really think the Stanhope is more jealous of the diamonds of these brides, Douro, Moira, than of their husbands.

I am glad Fy has such a list. She had better choose while She can, and I repeat to you the counsel I gave in my last. I already see in the newspapers a paragraph to say She is in love—pray who is the youth meant therein? I shld think that more respectable than to have a head turned by a Grand Duke—even little Miss Greville at Rome was above that. Flora Hastings's illness is indeed a piece of bad luck.¹ You are quite right about getting the Queen to go to Duke Wellington, and I am much pleased to hear of her civility to some of the Tory Ladies and its effect. Ballot may do to fight about for some years, but the question is advancing and will advance. I am afraid Macaulay is swayed, perhaps without knowing it, by his interest. I speak from having talked to him at Naples. John Russell's speech upon it seems to me good and true, for which reason nobody minds it.²

to administer a grant of £30,000 a year, and to appoint inspectors. The Archbishop of Canterbury induced the House of Lords to condemn the whole scheme.

¹ Lady Flora Hastings died on July 5, 1839.

² Macaulay had been at Naples at New Year 1839. He was returned for Edinburgh in June, and on June 10 spoke on Grote's annual motion for the ballot, defending the Cabinet for allowing ministers and their supporters to vote as they pleased on the resolution. Lord John spoke to the same effect. The motion was, of course, defeated.

To the Countess Cowper from Lord Beauvale.

CARLSBAD, 9

1839 ?

How can you think, Dst Em, that it can be painful to me to hear you dwell upon the subject that occupies you. You have not a feeling upon it which I do not partake, it is a pleasure though a melancholy one to hear them expressed, while the idea that you were suppressing yr real feelings would be positively painful to me. There is not a word you say upon it in which I do not recognize all the niceness of yr nature, nor one that I would willingly be without. You can feel nothing upon it which has not an echo in me. I think Fanny's plan will suit you better than Corise's, and I think decidedly better than shutting yrself up at Brocket.

As there must now be a new vote for the Diplomatic Service, I want a change made in that vile arrangement for confining Ministers to their residences. Its effects are so mischievous that they ought to be made to move instead. I have mentioned the subject both at the Treasury and Foreign Office and hope it will be done. It is too hard that things should be inflicted on us which exist in no other service in Europe. If I had stayed at Vienna I shld have seen nobody, every one is absent. Here I pass hours with the King and Queen of Hanover, and have heard much which I have written to Wm. Her fear is of Victoria's heart turning out tender, and He urges the maintenance of the greatest strictness at Court. Ludicrous—but just. I cannot say how much all you tell me of Victoria interests me. It would not

do to put Caradoc into any prominent situation in the Household, and indeed he were better out of it altogether. Strange to say I hear this talked of here. If there is question of it, you had better put Wm. up to it. I don't believe in quiet for Wm. A man launched into such affairs had best go on with them—quiet destroys him. The best thing for him wld be a villa where he could go and sleep in fresh air without quitting the vortex. Brocket is too far. If he had a villa, would he drive down and sleep at it? That is with me the only question.

All you say about the Queen is true, but She must have somebody behind her whom She has trusted all this time. I suppose that German lady¹ who is with her. Does She still remain about her? If not, what Lady does she see intimately and habitually? The Sutherland² cannot have the time for it. All other reports, and I receive many, confirm yours, some with less, some with more details. Impress upon Wm. to be very cautious about communicating what passes between him and the Queen only. Some things have come round to me, good, and in a good sense, but one never knows what use may be made of such things some day, and He is habitually incautious.

To the Countess Cowper from Lord Beauvale.

2 August 1839.

What does that dear Fy mean by saying I shall say it is her fault? Instead of her fault, it's her glory. To be asked for by people who

¹ Baroness Lehzen, her governess.

² The Duchess of Sutherland, Mistress of the Robes, 1837-41.

fall in love is nothing, it may happen to any pretty face, but to be sought by a steady devout family¹ without being known to them shews what a reputation she must have as likely to make an invaluable Wife. In truth all people tell me she is a straight forwards honest dear Girl without coquetry, *c'est tout ce que j'en demande*—and her head not a bit turned, *voilà mes nouvelles*.

With regard to the Queen I have often turned my thoughts to a King Consort, but people who know better than me tell me I am wrong, that if the Girl don't want to marry and is going on steadily and decently, it is better to let her alone, that if you rouse the temperament of the Women you never know what they may take to, and that unless She wants it herself She will do much better for a year or two to go on as She is. I know the inconveniences of a female Court, the tracasseries, the scandal, the quarrelling which infest it and pass into the whole of society, but these are inseparable from it, and were not much less in that of the married Queen Anne than in that of the Virgin Bess. If after all a husband is wanted, I know but of two to choose from, and neither of them with the years or experience which wld be good. One is the 2d son of the Duke of Coburg, of whom every body speaks so well that even those who hate the family allow its demerits to be overborne by the promise of the youth himself.² The other is a Prince Adalbert of

¹ Lady Frances Cowper eventually married, in 1841, Lord Jocelyn, eldest son of the Earl of Roden and Maria Le Despencer, his wife, daughter of Lord Le Despencer.

² The future Prince Consort,

Prussia—nephew or cousin to the King, of whom every body speaks well. Between the two connections I shld prefer the Prussian. A collateral connection with a great Kingdom has many advantages. I have never seen either of the youths, but both are said to be very good looking, particularly the first.

The penny postage is indeed a humbug and an expensive one. The last humbug is the Slavery,¹ the cost of which is not yet known. As We have at least one humbug a year, what are we to come to if there is to be no means of resisting them, and under the present system I doubt the possibility of any Ministry being able to do so? This is the fruit of the Reform Bill added to many other things. The greatest error in policy, and the most common, is to look for the consequences of measures the week after they are past. The Strawberry bears the year it is planted; it requires a century before the Oak bears its full crop of acorns. The most prolific bearers require time to develope their fecundity. Those who are in the stream remark not, I suppose, its force, but it looks fearful from a distance.

¹ The renewed efforts to suppress the slave trade, still carried on by the Portuguese.

CHAPTER XIV

LADY COWPER'S SECOND MARRIAGE

IT must have been in August or September of the year 1839 that Lady Cowper made up her mind to marry her lifelong friend Lord Palmerston. He was alone in the world, for his sisters had both died. It cost her many anxious days and sleepless nights before she could make up her mind to the step. They were of suitable age, for he was fifty-five and she was fifty-two, but she had to consider her children's feelings, and was much afraid, and not without reason, of what her daughter Fanny might say. "I see Fanny is your missis," wrote Lord Beauvale some years before, "and I don't know that you could have a better." Lord Melbourne had been very open on the subject to the Queen, and the proposed marriage had been announced to her in the following manner: "On 4th October 1839, Lord Melbourne said—'Here's a letter from my sister about domestic affairs,' and when I had read it he gave me a letter from Sir Fred to her. 'Now this is what has never been mentioned to any one about Palmerston: he's always wanting to marry her. . . .

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Sir Fred advises her if she likes it to do it, not to potter about it. I wrote to her she must do what she liked,' said Lord Melbourne, 'I couldn't advise her. The thing is,' he continued, 'what his (Palmerston's) circumstances are; some say he is very much indebted, and then they might both be poor together were he to be out of office; a very nice place in the country with a nice house something like Holkham.' 'He (Palmerston) presses her very much, she says,' continued Lord Melbourne, '... it would be a great change for him, accustomed to run about everywhere: she says her own family like it. I said to her, you mustn't deceive yourself about it—if you do you must take the consequences.' "

The bridegroom communicated the great news to his brother-in-law Sullivan, in a letter of October 31, dated from Windsor:

"I have long wanted an opportunity of mentioning to you a private affair concerning myself, from which I confidently expect much future comfort & happiness; I am going to be married to the D[owage]r Lady Cowper, but as nothing is so disagreeable as the congratulatory state, I wish you particularly to say nothing about it at present to anybody but William & Bowles, the only two persons to whom I have said a syllable on the subject. It will probably be about the end of November or beginning of December, after the Cabinet Meetings are over; most likely not till the second week in

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December; and it will not be declared till a short time before it takes place. This change in my domestic condition will at all events render my house more useful to your girls."

Hayward says truly that Lady Palmerston's career only began after her second marriage. Lord Palmerston was the great love of her life, and her powers and her talents were employed to secure his position in the country. The Queen, then in the first blush of her happiness in her own engagement, wrote to the Prince Consort: "They are both of them above fifty, and I think that they are quite right so to act, because Palmerston, since the death of his sisters, is quite alone in the world; and Lady C. is a very clever woman and *much* attached to him." "Still," she added, "I feel sure it will make you smile."¹ Lady Cowper was wrong in saying that her family liked it. Her children were much displeased. "She has courage to face her angry children," wrote Lady Granville, who never liked Lady Cowper. She seems to have begun her new life with much misgiving and with but little to cheer her. As she sat in her room on the 15th December, the day before her marriage, what thoughts and regrets may not have passed through her heart. She wrote in her Diary: "Was alone all day and packing; felt low at former recollec-

¹ *Letters of Queen Victoria*, under date of December 8, 1839.

tions & reading old letters." The next day she was married at St. George's, Hanover Square, at half-past one—"A beautiful day," she wrote, "which I accept as a good omen, and I trust the event of the day will contribute to our mutual happiness."

Lord Palmerston at fifty-five was at the height of his power. He had held office for thirty years. Beginning as a Junior Lord of the Admiralty under Portland in 1807, he had been Secretary at War under successive Tory Prime Ministers from 1809 till 1828. On the fall of the Wellington Ministry in 1830, he had joined Grey's Whig Administration as Foreign Secretary and, save for the brief interlude of the Wellington-Peel Ministry in 1834-35, he remained at the Foreign Office till 1841. By her marriage with him, Lady Palmerston entered on an official position. She had always been in touch with politics, and her affection for her brother and family traditions had led her to use the homes of her first marriage as meeting-places for the Whig Party. With her experience she knew that she could do much for Lord Palmerston, soften his asperities, and guide him into easier relations with the world at large. To this end she bent the whole force of her talents, and at the same time secured her own happiness.

To the Countess Cowper from Lord Beauvale.

7 [September ? 1839].

I lose not a moment in answering yr letter of 25th. Don't let Henriette¹ regret not having seen me first. Indeed She only regrets the loss of talking the thing over in 50 different lights, for nothing we could say could alter the position. The fact is that with her feelings and disposition She can do no otherwise, so it is not worth canvassing the pros and the cons. Let her take it as *Kismet*, her destiny, and I hope it may be happy to her. As to an opinion upon the subject I have given none because I form none.² The principal point is the Individual and this She must know best. If She had a doubt about his suiting her, I shld say don't do it, and I think She would say so herself, but whether He suits her or no must be known to her or the Devil's in it. I don't think Women do very well alone myself, and so if she determines against remaining so I can only say God bless her be it happy to Her. She will of course secure her own property to herself; there is no such source of good intelligence as mutual independence.

Poulet[t] Thomson's is a dreadful nomination.³ Above all things we wanted a Monarchical Commissioner and his whole ideas are Republican. He is a clever man but we want there a man of action. Use is as necessary to make a man

¹ That is, Lady Cowper herself.

² He did not like Palmerston.

³ C. Poulett Thomson, President of the Board of Trade, was appointed Governor-General of Canada in August 1839, and was created Lord Sydenham in August 1840.

act as to make him think. I suppose they wanted to be rid of him.

To the Countess Cowper from Lord Beauvale.

17th [September ? 1839].

Two letters from you, Drst Em.: answer last first. So Henriette¹ thought my opinion was rather against it. See how those who know each other the best can misunderstand each other. The truth is that there never has been a moment at which I have not felt that it was the only thing for Her, and forcible as her reasons are when put together, there is not one of them that I had not separately anticipated. I think people in these matters are best left to themselves and with her the question could only be one of time, for She could do no otherwise. There is on[e] thing I feel and which She not being spoilt like *Fy* will feel also. It is the excessive niceness of his steady perseverance. So very unlike what one ever meets with. With their incomes united, I hope they will be very comfortably off. She must tell me if I can do anything to be of use to her. I was not surprized at Wm's first reflection upon hearing it. What will the young Lady say? I have long foreseen and anticipated it. Even now I see H[enrie]tte fighting for delay, and mind I shall not take her in if She puts it off to come to Vienna. As to *Fy* what could I say to the girl? Billy tells me she wants a Hero. Somebody to look up to and be afraid of, not a smock faced youth. A 2d. Ashley in short. I always foresaw this. If

¹ Lady Cowper herself.

Minny can't succeed in shewing her the inconvenience of it nobody else can. She must follow her destiny.

L[ouis] P[hilippe] being forced is all d——d nonsense. He is the rankest old trickster living. From the Saxon side I hear that the Coburgs look upon the marriage¹ as settled, *tant mieux*, it will relieve W. from much *tracasserie*.

Ellice never could have denied Thomson as He did if He had proposed him. St. Peter's case wld be nothing to it. He is doubtless a clever man but was an obstacle at the Board of Trade, would have been impossible at the Exchequer, and is a positive mischief in Canada. This being said, things sometimes turn out contrary to all expectation.² His excuse to his friends for his sloth at the Board of Trade was his thinking the situation beneath him, because the salary had been cut down. Nothing is often so dear as œconomy. However I believe the truth to be that the man is incapable of exertion, whereunto Corise³ not a little contributed.

When the Queen marrys, it will set all these girls agog to do the same, and then who knows if any body will have them.

To the Countess Cowper from Lord Beauvale.

1 Decbr. [1839].

I am so perfectly enchanted with yr letter that I cannot lose a moment in telling you so.

¹ Of Queen Victoria to Prince Albert.

² They did. Poulett Thomson, Lord Sydenham, restored peace in Canada, though he had been a weak President of the Board of Trade.
Lady Tankerville.

Yr contrast between the two Courts, that of the Queen Dowager¹ and the reigning one, is justice itself, and so is the conclusion you draw from it, as to the injustice of the world and its hypocrisy, but you are not the only one who has perceived it. Lady Jersey with all Her flightiness has strange perceptions at times of the truth and said to me at Naples: "The fact is though I never say so that We are essentially a hypocritical nation." We are not only so but We like hypocrites and hypocrisy. Your account[s] of the successes of the Govt and the nullity of their effects upon the Country are true throughout. I don't know to what to refer this. You refer it to our not having a newspaper. This is not enough—why have We not one? Why is it worth no newspaper's while to take up our cause? It is with them a mere question of trade, and can only be referred to the fact that there are not buyers of newspapers enough of our opinion to make it worth their while. If so, this bring[s] us to the basis of our unpopularity with that class; it is, that, the country's mad fit being passed, they feel that the agitation consequent upon reforms has promoted attack upon property and they hate the Govt as the stirrers of the system. This added to the sinking of dissent and the rise of the Church account for the feeling of the Country, and if this be so it cannot long be resisted. The truth is that the whole of the Whig doctrines rest on an unsound basis. Their doctrine is to govern by means of the masses, whereas in practice the Govt must

¹ Queen Adelaide, King William iv.'s consort.

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come from above and be conducted in the interest of the masses but not depending upon them for support. To think of governing by the agency of that which is to be governed is nonsense, and from this simple principle may be derived the contradictions and difficulties in which the Whig Govt has found itself.¹

I am not the least surprised at Henriette's doubts. The old maxims are very apt to be true, and by them when other guides fail I often direct myself. "*In dubio abstine*" is one of them. If you can't translate get a translator. I often feel such doubts myself and if a Girl is very kind take a fancy to marry her, but this is generally avoided by some other coming across upon easier terms who puts her clean out of my head. As to Henriette's case and how her philothropogenitiveness [*sic*] might be conciliated with other proceedings I have no ideas distinct enough to be worth writing, but this I will write that if she even defers doing what she intended,² She must at once take measures to reduce her expence within her income or she will find herself seriously involved and with no way out of it. This can only be done by selling her house, and if she took this line and liked a jaunt for a time, I wld come and meet her anywhere and bring her here and be at her orders for as long as it might suit her. God bless you, Dst Em, I am in the greatest hurry and only compelled to write this by the truth and niceness of yrs.

¹ Lord Melbourne's Ministry was rent by divisions between Whigs and Radicals, and had lost confidence in itself.

² Her marriage to Palmerston.

To the Countess Cowper from the Princess Lieven.

[*Translation.*]

PARIS, December 13, 1839.

If I had obeyed my instinct, my dear good friend, the expression of my good wishes and of my affection for you would have forestalled the letter in which you informed me yesterday of your marriage. I heard about it a fortnight ago, I waited for confirmation of the news, and when that came, it brought contradictory rumours which caused me to burn the letter that I was sending you last Monday. I am very sorry for this. You would have seen that my joy at your happiness was really spontaneous and that, although you had forgotten me, I was thinking of you with tenderness, with emotion, with all the concern that a true and living friendship inspires at such a time. My dear good friend, you do well. Yes, you do well to seek happiness, comfort, a pleasant home, the care and help, the constant companionship, the common interests, for the rest of your days. Heaven bless your union! You are happy, you have always been happy and you will continue to be so, and my sisterly heart rejoices for you in this happiness. Tell Lord Palmerston that I return, with pleasure and in all sincerity, to the good times of our old acquaintance. I ask him once again for his friendship, and I frankly promise him mine. Dear, dear friend, I wept on reading your letter—tears of joy for you, tears of grief for myself! You are in the bosom of your family. You have all that the heart can desire, all that the world can bestow. As for me, my God, what a desert! ¹

¹ She had lost her husband, who died at Rome on January 10, 1839.

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Forgive me, my dear friend, for uttering these sad words at such a moment.

I love you tenderly and I am happy because of your happiness. That is all that I wanted to say.

To the Countess Cowper from Lord Beauvale.

15 Decbr. [1839].

Thank you, my Dst Em, for yr kind letter from Brighton. It is so seldom anybody will give one the advice one likes. I think I shall take yours, but everybody has things to settle first, and the bother alarms me. We shall see. I don't know why you say Henriette's Brother¹ is not happy as He is. I thought he had a fair average share of happiness as the world goes. He might be made to have a develish deal less, I can tell you, though he hardly apprehends it in this case—but the bother!

I do not like yr account of Wm; it vexes me very much. I know how ill and low He gets. I don't like Holland's² physicking. He never could bear it from a boy. The remedy for over eating is eating less, physicking only makes things worse. What can I do for him. I would come instantly but what could I do if I were there. I could only sit and be melancholy to see him low. Oh Dear, oh Dear, it makes me very unhappy! He never will be out of office now, and while in it nothing can

¹ The writer himself.

² Sir Henry Holland (1788-1873), physician to Queen Caroline in 1814, and to Queen Victoria from 1837.

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be done for him, and if out He would probably do nothing of what I should recommend. We each follow our destiny and there is no help for it, but you are a good kind Dear and I love you very much.

As early as December 22, Palmerston was writing to Sullivan from Broadlands :

“ I wish very very much that you and yours could come down to us ; for I want you to be well acquainted with my partner, and a few days in a country house are better for this purpose than many months in London.”

“ New Year's Day, very comfortable and cheerful,” wrote Lady Palmerston in her diary for the year 1840, from Broadlands. Abraham Hayward said¹ that, though from the time she married she took her place among “ the brilliant galaxy of beautiful and accomplished women of rank who continued to form the chief ornament of the British Court during successive reigns till they were gradually replaced, not outshone, by a younger, not fairer, more fascinating race,” yet, “ what may be called her public life dates from 1839 when she married Lord Palmerston . . . although no one would be more surprised than herself if, at that time, she had been told that she was about to begin a career which in any sense could be called public.” Hayward described Lady

¹ *Essays*, by Abraham Hayward : Lady Palmerston, pp. 349-50.

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Cowper when young as “ ‘ grace put in action ’ whose softness was as seductive as her joyousness.”¹ Her kindness of heart was proverbial. Her granddaughter’s husband used to say that her very faults had proceeded from over-kindness. In spite of the naturally hardening influence of years of experience, in spite of her shrewd judgment of men and events, her kindness was never warped, and a tolerant amusement at the failings of humanity was her sole mode of expression, except when they affected Lord Palmerston when “ a change came over her ; the *patte de velours* shot out its claws ; the dove seemed armed with the beak and talons of the hawk.”

After her marriage she at once saw the advantage it would be to Lord Palmerston, whose brusquerie did him great disservice, to open her doors, not alone to his friends and supporters in political life, but to all merit, literary, artistic or social. The charm of her parties lay in the fact that their component parts were as carefully chosen as a dinner party and that an invitation to one party did not necessarily include all. The warmth of Lady Palmerston’s manner cast an atmosphere of welcome over the assembly which communicated itself to the youngest and shyest girl making her first appearance in the world under her mother’s wing. The hostess herself would cross the room to talk to a girl sitting

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 353.

unnoticed in a corner, and draw her gently into the conversation of the crowd. Should Lord Palmerston require votes or support for some measure—"Stay! we will have a party," said Lady Palmerston. Her daughters, Lady Shaftesbury and Lady Jocelyn, were summoned, and while Lady Palmerston wrote the invitations with her own hand, her daughters addressed the envelopes. When these were finished and Lady Palmerston looked them over before despatching them, she would carefully correct her daughters' handwriting, dotting the i's and crossing the t's to their secret annoyance. "What did the envelope matter?" said Lady Jocelyn in after years: Lady Palmerston thought otherwise. To her, every detail was important when it concerned Lord Palmerston. "When any great subject of dispute between parties is on the tapis, I do not see my friends of the opposite side for a few days," she told Lady Robert Cecil.¹ Her one thought was for him—"the consolation which Heaven has vouchsafed to me since my sorrow, and for which I am duly thankful."

On January 16, 1840, the Queen opened Parliament in person. She announced her approaching marriage with Prince Albert, second son of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, in a speech which left out any reference to his religion. The Duke of Wellington expressed his disap-

¹ Afterwards Lady Salisbury.

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probation, and said that the precedent set by George III. should have been followed. Lord Melbourne defended the omission, but though the subject dropped out of the debate a disagreeable impression had been caused. Macaulay said that the omission was destined to please O'Connell, who had ever a great and loyal devotion to the person of the young Queen. Sir Frederick gave another reason.

Lady Palmerston was very much afraid of annoying Lord Palmerston by making him feel the chain of married life. His absences at Windsor left her lonely, and she disliked knowing that he was suffering from anxieties which she was not at hand to share and to smooth away. Thus she wrote from Broadlands :

*To Viscount Palmerston, Windsor Castle, from
Lady Palmerston.*

BROADLANDS,
Saturday, September 5th, 1840.

I am so sorry to have pressed you so much to come in my note yesterday, for I see by your letter to-day it is quite impossible you should come before Saturday—and I am afraid my entreaty's must have annoy'd you. I am quite reconciled now to my solitude. The day is much better, I can walk & drive & the place is so lovely after the rain. I do so admire it and enjoy it—& think myself so very fortunate to have a right in it—& love you for being the cause of all my comfort.

Yesterday I was quite out of humour with your *Vexatious* letter, & Minny's going & your not coming, and a rainy day besides, so that I saw everything *en noir*. But now I am myself again and we have been driving & walking and making the best of our retirement—& I have made my Lady in Waiting sleep in my Dressing room and put a bed up in the pantry for the Under Butler. Fred writes me a letter like an Oracle which I shant send you, but that I think it may do Wm. good, & have therefore enclosed it to him. He says "*A Cabinet is a bad machine to work great affairs with, & from thence come 3 parts of the difficulties of this, but how is that to be helped? Metternich says Wellington is right in principle that Mehemet ought not to have a bit of Syria but we are headed by circumstances with the force of which the Duke is unacquainted. Tell Palmerston Metternich's dispatches to Paris are not yet written, and will certainly not go till tomorrow, so that these things will probably reach you before his dispatches get to Paris. I mark this because I suppose you will be glad to let Austria take the lead in this circumstance.*"

This is a very beautiful Eveng.—and I have been walking till I can hardly stand—I have had no Newspaper today—What a shocking account you give of poor P[rince]ss Aug[ust]a,¹ Ever yrs affecty (tho with some *rancune*).

¹ The Princess Augusta, second daughter of George III., died on September 22, 1840, aged seventy-one.

CHAPTER XV

LORD BEAUVALE'S ROMANCE

THE beginning of the year 1841 opened quietly. While the Palmerstons were what Lord Beauvale termed "Christmassing" at Broadlands, the Eastern question was being successfully settled. Christmas duties, prize-giving, and the like, filled the days, and—"a dinner of neighbours to wind up the stay. In the midst arrived Alava¹ unexpectedly and very much *de trop*; however, the natives were pleased with the Lion." From Wrest, where she went on the 21st January, she wrote :

"I do so long to get back to you! Not but what it is all very well being here, every body very kind and courteous—but still there is *something* wanting, and I am so glad to think this is the last day. We shall start at 12 o'clock or before and so be in town at five.

"I don't much like those Extraordinary Codicils to a Barouche as far as I have seen them, and my own shut up is very warm &

¹ The veteran Spanish General, Miguel Ricardo di Alava (1771-1843), who had won the friendship of Wellington in the Peninsular War, and afterwards held the Spanish Embassy in Paris.

comfortable—I was not at all cold coming down here. It is idle of the housemaids to leave your Windows open & fire out, and you should send and scold them, for it might give you a very bad cold after coming from your warm writing-room.”

The Barouche to which she alludes is a carriage no longer to be seen in the streets of London except at a Court function. Large and boat-shaped, it hung and swung easily on C springs. High on the perch sat a coachman in his wig, and a footman in powder. Horses of special size and with high action drew the great gondola round the park at a slow pace. A huge apron of stiff leather drew up to the front seat like a counterpane, and the immense hood which had framed the fair face of the owner of a barouche drew down to the apron. This only happened in case of rain, so that the inmates peeped out on the storm as if comfortably tucked up in bed. Naughty and tiresome children driving with their mothers could be pushed under the apron, where they finished their drive in darkness and fear. Round and round the park swung these great equipages like palanquins, as the fine ladies of the day took their afternoon's airing, and they had the advantage of being comfortable enough for travelling carriages.

Housemaids seem to have been no different to what they are now, but to imagine Lord

Palmerston administering justice himself to his housemaid is a pleasing thought.

In the midst of the diplomatic complications, Lady Palmerston had to preside over the marriage of her youngest child. Lady Fanny was engaged to Viscount Jocelyn, eldest son of the third Earl of Roden, one of the most determined Orangemen of the North of Ireland, and a pillar of the Established Church. Lady Fanny's home would henceforth be in a very different atmosphere. In the house at the foot of the wooded slopes of Slieve Donard, where the blue mists hid the Mourne Mountains like a veil and lifted again to disclose their beauty, she would make her home. Among the poor Irish peasants she would spend her time and her compassion. In the dreadful days of the Irish potato famine, her skill would help in the establishment of a School of Embroidery to bring money into the starving Irish homes.

The Orange scarves hung in the chapel of the house. The great iron shutters put up to protect the household from the Fenians could still shut with a clang against nocturnal bandits. An atmosphere of stern and uncompromising piety brooded over the house; the Sabbath was strictly kept. Lady Roden, the daughter of Lord Le Despencer, still magnificently beautiful, gathered the young maidservants round her to read the Scriptures on Sunday afternoons. Her daughters were Lady Powerscourt—then

in the bloom of such unparalleled loveliness that the people would crowd on the staircase of the hotels where she stayed on her journeys between Powerscourt and England to watch her pass—and Lady Barham, afterwards Lady Gainsborough, who was also exceedingly handsome and, like the rest of her family, of a stern and unbending piety. Lady Fanny became devoted to her husband's mother, who exercised a great influence over her, and taught her the secret of bearing the sorrows of her later life. Lord Jocelyn was of a different type, and the early influences of his home had not affected his wild and impetuous character. He was a soldier, and, when Lady Fanny first met him, had just returned from Chusan, which had been occupied by British forces during the Chinese war of 1840.

To Lord Palmerston from Lady Palmerston.

BRISTOL HOTEL,
Thursday, 25 March 1841.

MY DEAREST LOVE,

I am so glad to think you had an amusing dinner yes[terda]y, instead of passing your evening all alone. How glad L[ad]y J[ersey] will have been to get hold of you without me. . . . But what a vile Man to go to bed early now and get up early—to give the world an *impression* that it is *I* who lead you astray—however notwithstanding this, I am glad to think you should have an early night, for the

sake of your eyes. Our Weather certainly is beautiful, which is fortunate, otherwise I don't know what we should do; however our trip has answered perfectly as to what our object was "health"—my cold is gone & Minny's cough is much better. Fanny is nearly well, and the Children better—we saw Dr Hall, however, yes[terda]y for Anthony, & Ld Jocelyn, who has constant pain in his side & evidently suffers still from the effects of his Chusan fever and ought to be careful of himself for some time to come. I am so glad to think we shall have such long holidays. What fun it will be! The only difficulty now is how to spend them to the best advantage.

Irby is coming to dine with us to-day and *I am afraid* Mrs Huskisson is coming into this Hotel to-morrow.

Ly Georg[ian]a Fane drives her Poneys wildly about & L[or]d West[morlan]d looks worse than ever. Jocelyn is very good company, but it is a trial for lookers-on to have a courtship going on all day long. I am in hopes I have got him to hire a Horse to-morrow, and to take a ride (*pour changer*)—but he is a nice creature. God bless you darling—Yrs ever affecty, EM.

April 27, 1841, was the wedding day. "Very brilliant & very gay," wrote Lady Cowper in her diary, "but alas! sorrowful for me. It is such a loss to part with my constant companion, my care for 21 years, my first interest in days of prosperity and my consolation under affliction. I will not grieve over what is unavoidable but trust that the separation from my child may

be small and that I may still manage to keep her more with me than if she had made a richer marriage." Lady Palmerston perhaps had a premonition of the sorrows which were to come on that brilliant and beloved daughter in later life—the loss of her young and handsome husband by cholera in the Tower in 1854, the loss of six children in their youth, one after the other, of the same deadly complaint that had killed Harriet Lamb, until she herself, worn out and exhausted by sorrow and suffering, died at Cannes in 1880, six weeks after her last surviving son, and with only her dead daughter's husband and his little children to comfort the last days of her life.

Before this marriage a strange and romantic union had taken place in Vienna. Lord Beauvale had now been our Ambassador in Austria for some nine or ten years. He was now nearly sixty. He was still handsome, with charming manners and a high-bred courtesy; his many friendships with the opposite sex were notorious. He was a great personage at the Court of Vienna. He was known to possess a will of iron and to exercise great influence over Lord Melbourne. He always maintained that the superiority of judgment rested with the man on the spot, as he had shown by his prompt action at Lisbon in the spring of 1828. When Lord Palmerston wrote a sharply-worded despatch in January 1841 to Prince Metternich, complaining of the

vacillation of the Austrian Court over the Eastern question, Lord Beauvale, thinking it likely to give great and unnecessary offence, put it away and wrote to Lord Palmerston that, as circumstances were changed, he should say nothing about it.

His diplomatic duties may often have taken him to the house of the Prussian Ambassador at Vienna, Count Mahltzahn, a widower. There he met the daughters. Probably they were but children when he first saw them and he thought them so, but in the heart of the eldest girl, Alexandrina Julia—Adine, as she was called—child though she was, had sprung up an adoring affection for the exceedingly handsome, kind and courteous man who visited her father's house.

In 1836 she came out into the world, but no one she saw in Vienna, old or young, could compare with the English Ambassador. She watched his failing health with sorrow, and longed to be his companion, his nurse, his friend. She was not the ordinary type of German fraulein; it was not romance that touched her heart. The feelings she experienced were more maternal, she loved him and wanted to take care of him. She could not help showing her feelings, and in the small and critical society of Vienna unkind comments were made. Adine suffered acutely. The whispered innuendo as she entered a room, the vile insinuations that were

made and repeated to her by her so-called friends were more than she could bear. Whether Count Von Mahltzahn knew of the trouble she was in it is hard to know ; she had no one to advise her ; so she took her own measures and wrote to the British Ambassador.

“ Do not place, dear Lord Beauvale, a false interpretation on these lines. Do not misconstrue the motives dictated by affection which have decided me to speak so frankly. Lord Beauvale, no one in the world has yet seen trembling on my lips what I have said to you. I have treated you as I have treated no one else in the world—you seemed to me as some bright particular star descending from its sphere to approach me, poor girl—and the confidence I have in you is like that I have in God, and does not even allow me to fear the consequences of my unusual behaviour, a behaviour which I could only show towards you ; there is a beauty in the undoubting, unsuspecting purity of my affection to you, a beauty that I would not wish away, even though it exists only to be trampled on and betrayed.

“ It is 2 days since I have seen you, and during that time I have been made to endure almost unbelievable sufferings. What is being said about me has been repeated to me, and you know what it means to be in the mouth of the public of Vienna. My reputation—and let me add your own—my peace of mind perhaps—all force me to surround myself with a reserve which has hurt me very much, but the only thing which I cannot sacrifice to them is the assurance and certainty

of our reciprocal friendship. I can no longer be the tattling Adine of Königswarth—but promise me that you will have some pity for me if you see me in the midst of an unapproachable circle, promise me that some times as you pass you will press my hand . . . ah, you have no idea how horribly sad and how agitated I am. Lord Beauvale, is there any other course open to me? You yourself said at Königswarth, ‘It is for us to compromise women for them to know exactly to what point they can go.’

“No hint of blame can fall on you—but for me, considering your position in the world—all will contribute to throw ridicule and a breath of dishonour on me. I can sign myself—for you have called me so—your child?”

“Lord Beauvale, am I wrong to write? will you still consider me worthy of esteem? Do you laugh at me? will you betray me? Ah, do not add this thought to these others which are making me desperate during the last two days. Beware of risks—Here am I, a poor poor girl without a mother.

“Write me one word to acknowledge this letter, for the person who brings these lines is sincerely devoted to me.”

What Lord Beauvale’s intentions had originally been, it is difficult to fathom. He may have always intended marriage and it is possible that it was so, but he may have thought that the difference in age made love on her side impossible. He may, for the men of the Lamb family were always selfish in love, have enjoyed the conversation of “this tattling laughing Adine” without

thinking of her feelings. He forgot the evil tongues of Vienna, and the smallness of the Society which demanded sixteen quarters of nobility on both sides before any of its members could be admitted at Court. He also forgot the power of the band, composed of the daughters of the nobility, who ruled Vienna Society. The Countesses could make or mar any young man's position in Society, and would resent vigorously any conduct on the part of one of their body which was likely to give rise to unfavourable reports.

His answer to her was perfect in its fatherly tenderness :

“Your letter, dear Adine, is one to madden anyone who was not all ready mad. It comes from a ‘noble creature.’ I would answer for that as before God. To begin with your question about myself. I cannot see the sacrifices of which she speaks. I only see in my life another gentle creature to help me and to love me. I know at the same time that from that moment all my happiness would depend on her, and that I could not remain happy if I did not see her so. From selfishness therefore as well as from love, I must concern myself for her future. I know that there would be at first a time of delirium which might be worth a whole life, but if I look at the other side what do I see ? I see a girl tied to an old man taking care of him and perhaps ashamed of him. I see a young widow in a country which was not her own, to which she is tied by the interests of her children while in her thoughts she

returns to her family ; on the other side I see the same young woman established in her own country with her sisters married near her, and surrounded by her family. You will not deny the correctness of these pictures if it has struck you. You will only have 3 words to say to me. My courage has failed me. You will say to the world that you have refused me. I will confirm what you say. The world will accept it with only too much pleasure. Matters will turn in your favour, and I shall become the most tender of friends and of fathers. This is perhaps what reason dictates. However, dear Adine, before deciding remember that all depends on you, that your destiny is absolutely in your hands, and above all never doubt your friend."

In her heart of hearts Lady Palmerston did not quite approve the marriage, but she came by degrees to be very fond of her sister-in-law when she saw the happiness of the marriage and the power and tact displayed by Adine, which enabled her to become a valued member of the family, one of the most difficult to enter which ever existed. She was never a beauty, but her tall willowy and graceful figure remained even to old age. To those who remember her then, her large eyes looked as if she had never ceased from crying. She had a gentle manner, full of humour, recalling her husband's description of her when young as "a laughing thing." Adine and Lord Beauvale were married on February 25, 1841, in Vienna.

To Lord Melbourne from Lord Beauvale.

15 Decr. 1840.

DRST WILL,

Em tells me you are not very well. At this time of year We with gout in us are often amiss, but I wish you would tell yr Doctor that strong physicking never did for you from a Boy.

Business is coming to an end, I hope, and, whether or no, if you feel solitary and would like to see me, say so and I will come to you instantly.

You will think me a consummate old fool but it's not unlikely I may marry a Girl here. Emily knows who—but I would rather come to you if you wanted me.

To Lady Palmerston from Lord Beauvale.

21 [December ? 1840].

Read the inclosed if you can, Dst Em, and tell me if I shall marry that Girl. Never mind a little Germanism in her letter. She's a straight-forward laughing thing enough. Her desolation is only because they bully her for having talked about a 50th part as much as our English Girls do every week, and for this only she calls herself a *pauvre fille*, which is not her position. You'll wonder at her having taken such a predilection but not more than I do, for she is quite young and pretty. Having lost her Mother here a year or two ago, and since then a Brother whom She was very fond of, and had other misfortunes of the sort in her family, She has made to herself a sort of vocation of charity and devotion to others, and seems to want an old husband to

take care of. Shall I bring her to you? It would be a little interest and how such things turn out heaven only knows.

I send the news of the taking of Acre.¹ It is a load off my mind. The Garrison were prepared, their demoralization had ceased, and a little good gunnery might have foiled us. God be praised We have succeeded.

To Lord Palmerston from Lady Palmerston.

BRISTOL H[OTEL].
Monday [January 1841].

MY DEAREST LOVE,

I got your packet to-day, and it was an agreeable surprize, for I had counted there was no post. To-day is again very mild and fine, a south wind, delicious, but a little inclination to rain, and the Sun has not yet shewn itself. We are very much the better for being here, and have both lost the headaches we started from London with.

The *Examiner* is coming round a little, and all must come round who have chosen to take that shabby and absurd line. It is a great pleasure to see all our enemies floundering in the Mud, and not knowing how to get on their legs again.

If you had paid Thiers to make all the revelations he has in his speeches, he could not have more completely proved the excellence of your policy and all the praise that is due to you for taking such a decided line² and shewing such extraordinary courage under circumstances that would have made many a stout heart flinch.

¹ November 3, 1840.

² In the Near Eastern crisis.

I am afraid Frederick has rather a mind to marry that Girl I mentioned to you. I don't know it but I suspect it—and if he thinks it for his happiness, I could not do otherwise than advise him to it. After all, happiness is the first thing to be considered, and I think he feels lonely and deserted in his present Bachelor condition.

I believe the Girl wants very much to marry him. Don't of course breathe a word of this.

To Lady Palmerston from Lord Beauvale.

30th [December ? 1840].

The courier having got out of the snow, I can write a little more freely. I wish I could shew you this Girl now as She stands, for I know you would love her—not a bit a romantic thing but more like Minny in disposition than any thing else I know, just as ready to laugh or to cry, just as devoted and as ignorant of interest or calculation. She has no money but I don't care a straw about that, for whenever I quit this Embassy all I want is a quiet life, and for that I shall be able to do very well. I have represented against expensive trousseaus, and as She don't care a straw about them, there will be nothing of the sort, but I know what a knack you have of finding bits of Cashmere for a trifle, which wld here be thought wonders. If you can send me out any thing of the sort and tell me what I am to pay you, I shall be thankful. Lady Lyndhurst produced one for a pony [?] or something like it, which in Bohemia was thought beautiful. All our belongings are now so thriving that I have no scruple in settling

upon her the interest of my younger Brother's fortune as a jointure, and as to children, if any come, I dare say I shall be able to do quite as well for them as I think necessary.

Only send me back the Courier immediately with the settlement and what else I ask for if you can meet with it.

The Melbourne Ministry came to an end this year. The Tories determined to attack them on the Budget. The financial affairs of the country were in a bad state. Distress was wide-spread. It was supposed that a low fixed duty on corn and a lower duty on sugar would produce a large revenue. Both the landed proprietors in England and the owners of sugar plantations were affected by these measures, which were looked on both as an attack on property and as unsound finance. After eight nights' debate on the reduction of the sugar duty the Government were defeated on 18th May by a majority of 36. But they did not resign, and Lady Palmerston's diary tells how the Cabinet met on 13th May to "settle the concern," how on the 14th the decision was again put off; on the 15th the Cabinet again met but "nothing was decided": on 19th May, "the Cabinet assembled and decided not to resign." On the 20th, Baring, the Chancellor of Exchequer, moved the usual Sugar Duties. On the 27th, Sir Robert Peel moved a resolution of want of confidence in the Government. In the

division early in the morning of 5th June, the numbers were 312 to 311 against the Ministry. "We are beaten by 1 vote," wrote Lady Palmerston in her diary that night.

Soon after, she and Lady Holland and Lord Duncannon¹ were dining together, "talking of nothing but election prospects," and on 21st June she and Lord Palmerston posted down to Tiverton in Devonshire, to be on the spot as soon as Parliament was prorogued by the Queen in person on 22nd June. Palmerston was nominated on the 28th, and "after speeches a triumphant return with very gratifying expressions of regard from the whole town." This was the first visit Lady Palmerston had made to Lord Palmerston's constituency since her marriage, and her soothing influence and sunny smiles delighted the electors. On 24th July the elections were nearly over, and though they "proved very unsatisfactory, for the Tories had a majority between 70 and 80, we Whigs are in good heart notwithstanding, a minority of at least 291." ■ The Whig Ministry could only be congratulated on their conduct of foreign affairs. Aggressive it may have been, but it was victorious. England's position both on the Continent and abroad was strengthened. The Eastern question had been brought to a suc-

¹ The eldest son of Lord Bessborough, and the brother of Lady Caroline Lamb.

■ The actual majority was 76.

cessful conclusion for the time being. The quarrel with France was at an end. Our Minister was again at the Court of Teheran. The Chinese war alone had not been brought to a conclusion.

To Lady Palmerston from Lord Beauvale.

TOPLITZ, 23d. June 1841.

You seem all very quiet in England still, but if that quietness continues the dissolution will be of no use to you. Here is the dilemma. The Tories write that the cry of cheap bread does not take, and is more than counterbalanced as yet by that of low wages. I hear nothing to confirm P[almerston]'s notion that the attacks in the German papers come from the alarm of the manufacturers, and I believe this idea to be entirely groundless. My notions upon the subject come from the great landed Proprietors and from the Persons at the head of this Govt. A fixed duty may be better, but I must see the details before I can be convinced of it. At present the duty falls to 1 shilling when the price is 73.¹ I can understand that it would be better for the Landlord that at that price the duty should be 8 or 10 shillings—but would the community bear it? Certainly not, it would be intolerable. Would the fixed duty men allow it at that price to fall as at present to 1 shilling? If so, the effect would be just what it is at present; the holders of corn would wait for bad seasons and the fall of duty, just as they do at present. Has any thing been hit upon

¹ 73s. a quarter of wheat.

to obviate this difficulty? It may be so, but as I can conceive nothing, I must wait till I hear more.

Adine sends a thousand messages which you will imagine. She gives me no trouble and does whatever I wish.

Sir John Courcy says the Queen will send *en cas de besoin* for the Duke of Richmond, and that the elegant Lyndhurst aims at being not Chancellor but Ambassador at Paris. Neither of these sound to me practical.

To Lady Palmerston from Lord Beauvale.

19 July 1841.

The dissolution and hanging on of the Ministry from May to September, instead of going out as was expected, are very contrariant to me in their results, but, being unable to control events, I know nothing but to shape one's course in conformity to them. It is a famous thing to be born independent and to be guided only by one's pleasure and one's will, but, not being so, the apeing it can only lead one into scrapes and regrets. During the whole course of my life I never have been able to reside where I wld, except at short intervals, and I cannot do so yet. I hope the time may come when I may.

As to yr return to Office after a year, it looks rather doubtful. The Country must have time to get tired of Peel first. Don't you see it has got tired of the Whigs, and this perhaps is more the cause of their retreat than any of those assigned for it. It will tire of all in turns, but not in a year. At all events, once there I

mean to take root in it, and I therefore reject yr rendezvous for the winter of 42.

Don't fancy I think England in danger of revolution. No such idea ever crossed my mind or slipped from my pen. I thought the corn proposition wld have excited violent dissensions and so thought all the English on the Continent ; Wm Russell was still thinking so 4 days ago. We were wrong, and its having been taken so smoothly is no small proof of the absence of inflammable matter there. But the inflammation we expected was between Towns and Country, manufacturers and agriculturists, Lords and Commons, but with nothing revolutionary in the intention, whatever might have come out of it in the end. God be praised the Towns have not moved, and thence all remains safe except the Ministry. Bless you.

On July 29 the Queen and Prince Albert stayed two nights at Panshanger, and from there drove to Bocket to spend a day. Lord and Lady Palmerston were there to receive her. "I hope you will have made Bocket nice for the Queen," wrote Lord Beauvale, "I never heard of such an idea as fobbing her off with a breakfast." "The whole scene was very brilliant, the banquet in the great room very handsome. The Queen was charmed with everything."¹ When the visit was over, the Palmerstons came back to London. Uncertainty as to the future made it necessary for Lord Palmer-

¹ *Lady Palmerston's Diary*, July 1841. The Queen's letter of 3rd August to King Leopold confirms this statement.

ston to work very hard. He had hardly time to eat or sleep, so much had to be finished and wound up in order that, if he had to quit the Foreign Office, he should leave all he had worked and striven for complete in every detail. No one was in London, and his wife had nothing to do but read and ponder. Her life was very solitary just then. The fateful day of the opening of Parliament was drawing near, and the Palmerstons, with other Ministers, went down to Windsor for a Council to settle the Queen's Speech. The Queen felt very depressed at the prospect of the change. On August 24 Parliament was opened. The debate lasted several days in the House of Commons, and it was "all in favour of the Whigs." Lord John Russell made an excellent speech, saying that "no adequate reason had been given for the attack on Ministers. It was usual to attack them for an unsuccessful policy. He claimed that Lord Melbourne's Ministry had been successful, and adduced the many negotiations which had been carried through. But these successes were nearly all in foreign policy, and in home legislation they could claim nothing." O'Connell made a very useful and temperate speech, comparing the Whig and Tory parties, which was wormwood to the Tories. Sir Robert Peel's speech was, according to Lady Palmerston, "twaddling in parts and always evasive, but it was good for his purpose and the idiots

behind him cheered his platitudes." But it was one of the occasions when speeches made but little difference to a foregone conclusion. On the division the numbers were 360 to 269 against the Government. The Whigs were out and people were all agitation at this event.

On August 30 Lady Palmerston had to go to South Street to strengthen Lord Melbourne for the last interview with the Queen. But this over, a weight seemed lifted, and a cheerful dinner party met in Carlton Terrace a day or two after. Lord Melbourne, Lord Ebrington, Lady Mary Fox, and Mr. Charles Gore sat round the dinner table, "all very merry, talking over the events of the day and finding fault with the new appointments, in short, enjoying the fun of Opposition." When Lord Palmerston went next day with other ministers to Claremont to resign the seals, the Queen expressed her regret to each and her hope to have them back soon. She entered even more fully into the subject with Lord John Russell, and said that it seemed to her from the complexion of the Cabinet that it could not hang together long.

The Queen felt the loss of Lord Melbourne's constant presence keenly. There had been no Ambassador from the French Court since the practical rupture between the two countries over Syria and Mehemet Ali. His coming had always been delayed. Now M. de St. Aulaire

was to arrive almost immediately. "The Queen wrote to Louis-Philippe to desire that the new Ambassador should not come directly, as it looked as if a slight to her late Government was meant, and she should take it as a slight to herself. There's a spirit & grit in the right place! Her conduct was perfect; civil to the new Government but keeping them at a distance." ¹

To Lady Palmerston from the Princess Lieven.

[*Translation.*]

PARIS, *August 12, 1841.*

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I received your letter of the 6th, with the account of the Queen's visit. I know how that must have pleased you, & I think it very natural that you should be very enthusiastic about her. It is easy for a Queen to give pleasure, & she favours your party to a marked degree. When King William [IV.] was well disposed towards the Whigs, Lord Grey would go so far as to maintain that he was a very clever man, though the poor King could make no such claim.

When I reflect on all that I saw in England, I find much to occupy & divert my mind. How many varied events & situations! What curious days were those of George IV.! What a magic lantern! Of those days I certainly have the most lively recollections, &, when I look through my diaries, I often laugh as heartily as you & I used to do, when we met in our own rooms after

¹ *Lady Palmerston's Diary, September 24.*

dinner to exchange confidences. Those were good days—to me, at least, the best days of my life! How short the good days are!

I am much interested to see the beginnings [of the new Ministry] in September. How will the Tories induce the Queen to support them? Surely Peel has nothing in his manners that could please her. Will she follow the old custom of George IV., who would never see Lord Liverpool because the Prime Minister annoyed him?

Neumann has just come. I have questioned him & find that his views are very independent & impartial. He will not indulge in any predictions, but he thinks that, for the moment, the situation is favourable for the Tories. I am reminded that the Duke of Wellington thought that England was ruined & that the Tories were submerged for ever!

To Lord Palmerston from Lady Palmerston.

Wednesday, [August ?] 1841.

I got your letter last night. Poor dear little Queen, I feel so sorry for her! The fact is our party in Governmt. & in the Country were grown supine and tired, but I think this change will now alter the whole character of the party and that we shall before long prove stronger than ever. It is a bore to have to *passer par là*, but it could not be helped—and it will be pleasant to start up like a Giant refreshed.

Jocelyn says Ireland is quite in a state of revolution; he never saw anything like it. He was obliged to have a file of soldiers to take him in and out of Dundalk, and when people

went to poll at Louth, four Gentlemen took them up with loaded Pistols.

Besides his property in Hampshire, Lord Palmerston owned a large estate in Ireland on which was situated a house called Cliffoney. It was in a wild, deserted part of Sligo. Though his public life prevented him from spending much time there, he had done much to improve the condition of the people. The development of the harbour and the planting of flax were among his improvements.

“When shall we get to Ireland?” Lady Palmerston had written in January; “I should like it so much. Mr. Cooper invites us also—he is full of your praises (but I hope we shall turn him out nevertheless), he says there never was such a Landlord as you are—that your works are stupendous, he only fears the people have not spirit enough to profit by your harbour, and that it can never pay, but he says the money you have laid out is enormous—and a great advantage to all that part of the Country—he says also that your bent sowing has had the best result, & reclaimed a great deal of land—that he was afraid it would not succeed, but now he is going to follow your example. Mrs. Cooper is niece to L[ad]y de Grey and they seem good natured hum drum kind of Paddys.”

While Palmerston was in office he had no time for such a journey. Now it was possible, and on October 17 they started for Ireland. They

stayed in Dublin, and at a dinner with Lord de Grey, the Lord-Lieutenant, they met Colonel Smith Shaw.

“A good looking and pleasing man. He told me that 5 or 6 years ago the Average of Murders was 700 a year, that 2 years ago it was 200 and growing less since Father Matthew's pledge.”

The journey lasted until December 6, for among the pleasures of opposition might be counted the ability to pay a number of visits. The return to London was tragic.

“Instead of dinner & good fires we found the house dark and cold. Paull the steward was out, so the other servants who have no more heads than Pins would not take the liberty to open his letter, so there it lay waiting for our arrival & we came upon them like Sultan Achmet when he went to see what his people were doing.

“3rd December, visited Melbourne. The gardens beautiful seen under the worst circumstances (under umbrellas) and it is altogether such a very comfortable place. The six fountains which flow perpetually are seen from so many different vistas that you think the number doubled. The dark walks and yew hedges are also beautiful. 16 Dec. The Anniversary of my marriage—two years that each deserve a flitch of bacon.”

Lady Palmerston's correspondence includes a characteristic letter from her brother's romantic young bride :

To Lady Palmerston from Lady Beauvale.

VIENNA, 7th November 1841.

I am happy to be able to inform you that Freddy is recovering fast of a very bad and tenacious attack of gout, which has kept him several days in bed and made it impossible for him to answer your most affectionate letter dated from Ireland. The gout began in the elbow and shifted to the fingers, where he suffered a great deal, but the Phisician managed him very well and a few days will suffice to bring back his strength, the use of his hand, and his good looks, of which I was so proud, and whose change I witnessed with a broken heart.

I assure you dearest Emily that I felt very low this sad week, and in spite of Freddy's assurances that he experienced much worse fits, my heart failed me to see this angel of patience suffer so much.

As soon as Freddy will be quite well again, and the doctor's permission obtained, we will, I presume, set off for the South, which determination I now value more than ever, as I feel convinced that he wants a mild winter. Formerly I could not help regretting the delay it would cause to our meeting, because I am *dying* to see all the members of a family to which I am so proud to belong—a happiness for which I thank God more and more every day and hour of my life.

Freddy got his letters of recall this very morning, with a passage in it, which I think very funny, "Ld Beauvale *having requested my*

permission to resign his Post, I etc. etc. etc." *Du reste* he feels thank God as happy as if *he had* and I am delighted. The very sight of these letters made me jump of joy—liberty is such an invaluable thing. Do not think me narrow-spirited, dear Emily, but I am really *too* happy in my interior to like office and its duties, grandeurs and glistening fetters.

Lady Ashley has written a delightful letter to her Uncle, which gave *him* great pleasure and made me still more anxious to see her of whom the whole world speaks with such admiration. I really sometimes do not know how I can wish to make the acquaintance of you all—I ought to be so afraid and shy.

Ld Alvanley is here on his way to Odessa. Freddy has not yet seen him; he too is confined in his room on account of gout.

Rokeby is laid up at Coblenz opposite of a Colchicum bottle—what a mischievous month.

God bless you dearest Emily; pardon the hurry of this letter, but having been but a nurse this last time, I have nothing to say but what belongs to my craft and the unlimited happiness of seeing *him* so much better again.

Pray do not count the number of faults in my letter, but I cannot make my mind up to bother and bore Freddy by reading it.

CHAPTER XVI

UNDER THE PEEL MINISTRY

ONE of the most interesting events of the year 1842 was the first levy of income-tax. This expedient was proposed by Sir Robert Peel for three years only, and was not intended as a perpetual source of revenue. He claimed that by taking the duties off many articles of subsistence the distress of the poor was ameliorated, while the saving to the richer classes enabled them to effect economies which provided the sum they had to pay in income-tax. In 1843 Lord John Russell, while waiving arguments against the tax itself, complained of the mode of levy. It was little thought then what an engine of destruction this tax would prove.

There is no mention in any of the letters of Lord Ashley's famous speeches on the Government Bill of 1844 for limiting the hours of labour in the factories. But Lady Palmerston was in full sympathy with her son-in-law's feelings, and angry with those who, even though they did not oppose him, disagreed with his principles. The Bill was brought into the House of Commons on February 5 by Sir James Graham,

but it did not meet with Lord Ashley's approval, who demonstrated that the alteration in hours was too short to make much difference in the condition of the children who laboured in the factories. The Bill went into Committee on March 15, and during a discussion of great interest Lord Ashley explained the severity of the nature of the labour required in working the cotton-spinning machines. The machines were called mules, and in following these machines over the ground the cotton spinner covered between twenty-five and thirty-five miles a day. Sir James Graham refused to believe this statement. There is a story in a book called *The History of Factory Legislation*,¹ which tells of a visit paid to Lord Palmerston by two of the delegates from the factory workers with the object of showing him how too true it was. They called late one afternoon at Lord Palmerston's house in Carlton Gardens to try the effect of a personal interview. When they got to the house their hearts sank. The great barouche was at the door, and on the balcony above a lady in her bonnet and shawl, tapping her little foot, was walking up and down and manifesting every sign of impatience for her afternoon drive. When the footman answered the door he shook his head, "No one could see Lord Palmerston." "Is he in?" was the eager question. At that moment Lord Palmerston

¹ By Philip Grant of Manchester.

crossed the hall and seeing the colloquy asked what was the matter. Directly he knew, without an instant's hesitation he bade the visitors come in. They explained their errand, and he also expressed his incredulity as to Lord Ashley's statements. "May we give you a demonstration?" they asked eagerly, and seizing an armchair, one of them, Mr. Haworth by name, began to run it up and down the dining-room, his companion following him, imitating the motions of bending down readjusting the machinery, cutting off the ends, in short, doing the work of a driver of a "mule" in any cotton factory. Lord Palmerston became much interested, and summoning the footman the two formed further evolutions under the guidance of the two visitors. Mr. Hayes then pulled up the leg of his trousers to show the hard growth produced on the skin of the leg by "putting up the carriage." At this moment Lady Palmerston, whose sojourn on the balcony had become intolerable, entered. "I am glad to see your Lordship has at last betaken yourself to work," she said laughing, "but whatever *are* you doing?" The triumph and delight with which she hailed the explanation knew no bounds, for her kindness of heart had been moved by the efforts of Lord Ashley. From that moment Lord Palmerston supported him. The speeches during the discussion showed a state of affairs with regard to labour of all kinds

which it is believed has been ameliorated in the present day, and the hardship of other trades was adduced, the poverty and poor housing of labourers in the country, and the horrors of the workrooms of the dressmakers and milliners during the London season. Lord Ashley's motion to limit the hours of work from 12 to 10 was lost. He said he bowed to the decision but should continue to assert his principles on every opportunity, and the Bill which passed had this advantage, that it at any rate placed *some* limit on working hours where before there had been none.

When the triumph of the Tory party was fully established and Lord Beauvale had quitted the Diplomatic Service, he decided to journey slowly home through Italy instead of coming at once to England.

“ Now that I know the result of the Elections I shall take measures for quietly removing from hence. You know I am always against flashy proceedings. What will come next I cannot foresee, but I do not like the prospect and think Peel has spoilt the situation for both parties, which for both was before as good as possible. What a man J. Russell is—think of the Home Office and the lead of the House of Commons not being enough for him without pamphleteering! The seeds you talk of—those sown by P.—have all borne fruit; in the course of human events He must next expect a reverse. I shld have thought him most fortunate to get out

now. Tell me about the Queen. She seems to have shewn great character. What was the real object of Peel's demand? Tell me all you know and more."

The contemplated change must have been at once painful and agreeable to him. He had lived abroad for over thirty years. His visits to England had been few and far between during those years, owing greatly to the slowness of travel and the importance of the posts which he had held. The altered circumstances were softened for him by the presence of his young wife. He could also reflect with pleasure that his recall was free from the uncomfortable incidents which attended that of Lord William Russell, our Ambassador at St. Petersburg. Russell was

"... partly angry because he made a bit of a fool of himself. He and his Wife let it be understood at Vienna that He would be allowed to remain on account of the Duke of Wellington's partiality for him. In the middle of this came intelligence of the intention to remove him, which made him post off for Berlin feeling that He had better have held his tongue, so of course He was glad to take hold of Aberdeen's rudeness to vent his spleen upon. I was amused because He, having taken the opposite line to me, arrived at the same end, though by a route less satisfactory to himself. Such or about such would have been my fate if I had waited in silence."

Lord Beauvale had to arrange for the disposal of his "kit," composed of his carriages and his horses. It would "be immense," he decided, and "much wine." He had already sold about £2000 worth of things at about a quarter of their value, he reflected ruefully, and there was much more on sale. "These concerns are too big, but while Embassys go on they cannot be diminished." As they passed through Paris in 1842 he renewed his friendship with Mme. de Lieven, and this old friend gave to Lady Palmerston an account of what Charles Greville called "the union of May and December." The Beauvales arrived to find Paris a city of mourning. On July 13 the Duc d'Orléans was killed by falling from the phaeton in which he was driving from Paris to Neuilly to pay a visit to his mother. He was carried into an inn at the side of the road, near the Porte Maillot, where he expired four hours after. The Queen's despair was terrible. She felt she had been the cause of his death by pressing him to come and see her again before he left for an absence of some weeks at the Military Camp at St. Omer. The Royal Family had been summoned to the inn where the Prince lay dying, and the Queen knelt by his side on the floor, in an agony of grief. But the Duc d'Orléans never recovered consciousness. Exactly how the accident happened was never known, but it was supposed that the horses ran away, and that the Duke

got up to see what was happening and encourage the postillion. While he was standing up, a violent jerk of the carriage made him lose his balance and he fell into the road.¹

To Lady Palmerston from the Princess Lieven.

[*Translation.*]

PARIS, *July 19, 1842.*

I have to thank you for your letter of the 13th written actually on the very day of the misfortune which befell both the King and France. It is a very disastrous event. It has been received here with a depth of feeling for the poor Royal family and regret for the charming Prince that no one expected in such a degree from the public of Paris, which is so frivolous and apparently cares so little for the Royal family. But on this occasion the grief and anxiety have been general. Every one is sad and every one is serious. There is good reason for this. Your newspapers have been perfect under these sad circumstances, and this has been much remarked upon. Certainly all Europe shares in this misfortune.

The King is very touching. While preserving his composure, he feels it perhaps the most. He is constantly in tears, but he does not fail in any of his duties as King. The times are serious, and what would happen if he broke down? This is what every one contemplates with terror. The question of the Regency is a great question. Unanimity is wished for, but how can one hope

¹ See the account by the King of the Belgians in the *Letters of Queen Victoria*, under date of July 22, 1842.

for it? Certainly the natural thing would be the Regency of the uncle, and the guardianship of the mother. I hear on every side that this is what will happen.

The Comte de Paris is better now. His brother is very delicate. Both have very weak constitutions.

The Duchesse d'Orléans has borne her misfortune with much more courage than any one expected. For my part I prefer tender-hearted women to strong-minded ones. It is more feminine.

As for the poor Queen, you can imagine her state! You have read the account of this sad day, and the passionate yet resigned grief, which gave her the strength to follow the body of her son on foot! Maréchal Soult, who with the other Ministers watched for four hours beside the Prince's death-bed, saw the heart-rending spectacle of the grief of these poor parents, and also walked in this funeral procession, says that he feels that the recollection will shorten his days, so deeply has his imagination been impressed with this horrible scene. Judge then what it must be for the parents!

When the Prince's will was opened, it was found that he had indicated a desire that his wife should be guardian of her children, but that his brother the Duc de Nemours, who had married Queen Victoria's cousin the Princess Victoria of Coburg, should be Regent during any minority which might ensue. He gave as his reason for excluding his wife from the Regency that the head of the Government of

France must always be ready to mount a horse within a quarter of an hour.

To Lady Palmerston from the Princess Lieven.

[*Translation.*]

BEAUSÉJOUR,
Sunday, July 31, 1842.

I must write you a line, my dear friend, before the arrival of your brother in London. He has been here for some days; he goes off again on Wednesday. I cannot express the pleasure it has given me to see him again. He is one of the small number of persons that one is sure to find and whom one does actually find exactly the same. The same gaiety, the same reliance, the same optimism, the same impartial judgment on everything! It would be a pleasure to talk to him, even if one were not as fond as I am of him. He is thinner but looks in good health. His wife is really charming. She must please every one by her gentle manner, her intelligence, and her distinguished air. And how she adores her husband! She is completely preoccupied with him. It is just like a woman of a certain age who is in love with a young and handsome youth, while the young and handsome youth receives the adoration with gratitude and affection but nothing more. However, it is a very pretty sight and probably a very rare one. He has made an excellent acquisition. She seems to me to speak English like an Englishwoman. She has all that is necessary to be beautiful.

The day yesterday was very funereal and very solemn. The superb procession, the population

more earnest and certainly more restrained than at the funeral procession of Napoleon.¹ This was a religious function, while the other was military. The whole of Paris was spread between Neuilly and Notre Dame. Certainly the French have shown themselves very dynastic in these sad circumstances, and I think with many that instead of shaking the throne it will make it more secure.

The Princess could not foresee the collapse of the Orleanist dynasty in 1848.

Lord Beauvale's chief anxiety was to see for himself the state of Lord Melbourne's health. To his brother's physical condition he attributed many of the failures of the Whig Government, and he had long known that the Ministry had by their dealings with the Corn Laws committed, as he called it, "suicide at the foot of the gallows, to deprive Mr. Denis of the pleasure of turning them off." He had always expected Peel to try a modification of the Corn Laws and of the whole tariff, and to try it in such a manner as to give it a chance of success. "What combinations are to come out of it no man can foresee but it was clear to me that the case admitted nothing but palliatives, and therefore I hate to see language employed tending to inflame the passions and to lead men to expect and claim an abrogation of the entire duty upon

¹ The second funeral of Napoleon in December 1840; Thackeray's picturesque and cynical account of it is well known.

corn or of the greater part of it. I only arrived yesterday and have passed the day in St. Peter's which is to me an enchantment. How pleased the Oxford Parsons would be could they see its magnificent ceremonial. I have consequently seen nobody, and I believe there is no one here I know or nearly no one."

After a short stay in London, where Lady Palmerston recorded her first impressions of her new sister-in-law, Lord and Lady Beauvale went down to Bocket. The meeting between the two brothers, who had not met for so long, was quiet. As they entered the house the younger looked anxiously into the face of the elder brother, and noted, beneath the cheerful excitement of manner brought out by the meeting, the look of settled depression, and the inelasticity of the gait. The keen diplomatist, accustomed to scan faces of men for hidden meaning, saw much that troubled him. The estates, which should have been flourishing and prosperous, were in an unsatisfactory condition. The income therefrom was dwindling. Instead of the details of estate management being of interest to Lord Melbourne in his retirement, they did not occupy his attention, which wandered constantly to the happiness of the days when his fatherly care and guidance were needed by the Queen. At the mention of her name his eyes always filled with tears.

William Cowper, Lady Palmerston's second

son, had fallen in love with the beautiful Harriet Gurney¹ and was engaged to marry her. His mother was anxious and a little alarmed at Lord Melbourne's apparent disapproval of this step; she seemed to detect a certain lack of generosity in the present which he proposed to bestow on the occasion as she was quite unaware of the diminution of income.

To Lady Palmerston from Lord Beauvale.

Friday, October 1842.

Nothing so difficult as to find an instant in which to write. If He gives me an opportunity, I will speak in the sense you indicate, and both Adine and I will take any occasion that may present itself to get him to augment any present He may intend to give. He seems to me to have been like a child, so astonished at having a balance at his Bankers that He could not contain himself about it, and has thereby given a totally false opinion of his resources. He yesterday shewed me Fox's account of the rent days of his Derbyshire, Northamptonshire, Lincolnshire and Leicestershire Estates, and you will be surprized to learn that, without any deductions for extraordinary expenses, the whole amount remitted to his Banker for the $\frac{1}{2}$ year's rents was only £2980. This gives for the year less than £6000. The rent of the Hertfordshire Estate is under £2000. If the Nottinghamshire one pays 4000, I conceive it to be the

¹ The Hon. William Cowper married Miss Gurney. She died within a year, on August 31, 1843.

outside. Take from this sum £1300 for his House and Stables in London, 800 or 1000 for Lady Brandon and 7 or 800 for his Doctors, and how much will remain? In truth He can only live by drawing on the said balance, and when a sum is not replaced you know how rapidly it melts. This said balance moreover and the sum you saw in Consols are one and the same sum, and the balance only exists before the stock was bought or after it was sold. It is true He has paid off his mortgages, but that has not been done out of savings, but by the sale of farms by which the rent of his estate has diminished. I never saw any one so totally without concealment about his affairs, and I send you this account to prevent false notions, but I wish you to burn it when you have read it, as He might not like me to give so exact an account.

I have been trying to get him to save by getting a cheaper House in Town, not without some little prospect of success, and in doing it I told him we could lodge him *ad interim* if He liked to come to London. He will do it if He pleases but I should be very unwilling to have him pressed upon the subject. He is far better in the country and the fewer people He has at a time the better. I have not yet seen him so much himself as since our return, gay, cheerful, quiet. He seems to me to enjoy every moment of his life. Adine is as happy as a Queen and has no regrets about London, while for myself in this beautiful weather I feel that I would a thousand times rather be here than there. If He should shew the least wish to go there, We can make it very easy to him

—if not, He is much better as He is. Wm has praised Miss Gurney to both of us, pretty, natural, unaffected, and I have no doubt that in saying He hoped to see her here often He said no more than He felt. Whether He has had the feeling about the marriage you suppose I cannot say, but I have never seen a trace of it. I should say that being no great friend to marriage in general, He thinks it purely a folly without adequate means, and this seems to me to have been the scope of his letters to Billy before it was settled. Knowing himself not to have the means of doing any thing which would be of much use to Billy without inconvenience to himself, I do not think that the idea of doing it, or of its being expected from him, has ever crossed him. I may, however, be wrong and you right, for He has given me no clue to go by, but the little He has said upon the subject has been said so simply and naturally that I cannot suppose him to have had any thoughts in reserve. His not speaking about the Girl or the marriage to either of you is all awkwardness and shyness. Adine and I both of us thought her very pretty, much prettier than you had said.

Lord Melbourne was very ill, more ill than those around him knew. His work was done. On October 24 the blow fell. Lady Palmerston was entering her travelling carriage to post to Tiverton on a visit to Lord Palmerston's constituency when she was summoned to Brocket by an express from Lord Beauvale, which said, "Melbourne has a slight paralytic attack.

Thomas the Hatfield apothecary is with him. I send a Groom for Dr. Holland and he will carry this to you. Perhaps you will come but I shall write by tonight's post. Mrs. Lamb is here, and unfortunately Ellice and Ld Leicester too." When Lady Palmerston arrived at Brocket, she found "the alarm and reality all too dreadful." Gradually, however, Lord Melbourne began to get a little better, and to keep him cheerful a few trusted friends were invited to Brocket.

To Lady Palmerston from Lord Beauvale.

8th [1842 in Lady Palmerston's hand].

Dacre was here tother morning and talked to Wm of his own case as having been of the same nature as Wm's own, not much to the satisfaction of the latter, as Caroline tells me, but surely to his instruction. We may now conclude him to be aware of it though unwilling to converse upon it, and I shall speak to Holland (who is now in the House) with reference to this view of the case before He goes. Normanbys did very well and He seemed less put out by them and more glad to see them than is usual with him. They talked to him about the Queen with whom they both came from Windsor much satisfied. Lady Normanby will write Her a much better account than Anson had given. It is true that the latter had seen him on a bad day, worn out with Lady Holland's visit, but His account was such that the Normanbys were surprised and delighted to find him so well.

The Queen had charged her to watch him, to observe every thing and to write her an account. Thank God He is greatly improved, and Adine saw him this morning get up from his chair, walk to the door of the drawing-room and back, and sit down again without arm or stick. He lost his walk by the Normanbys being here this morning. Thank God Ldy Holland has put off till Thursday and will perhaps not come then as her Servant is ill, so We shall have a few days quiet. Motteux comes Wednesday, after that we must do as we can. John Russell wrote to Wm to propose himself and Ldy John for the end of Jany. Wm is sure to have accepted though I know nothing of it.

It was not only sisterly affection that made Lady Palmerston so miserable. She was concerned for the political party whose fortunes were so near to her heart. It was necessary to keep as secret as possible the fact that this great intellect was laid low. Melbourne's illness lasted many months. Recovery when it came was slow and uncertain, and he became a source of sorrow to those around him. The Queen was anxious about him and believed that for political reasons she was not allowed to know the true state of his health. Mr. Anson, Prince Albert's secretary, was sent to see for himself, and Lady Palmerston was vexed "to see that he was a little disappointed not to find him more completely well. He asked about Lord Melbourne's hysterical emotions which were

what struck him most, and I divining of what They would have spoken of answered that such was frequently the case when there was a mention of the Queen which always moved him greatly." The long days came and went and he would sit over the fire talking to himself and thinking of the past. The great rooms were peopled in his imagination with those who had erected them. He would sit gazing at his mother's picture as the twilight settled down on his surroundings, a twilight symbolical of his life as it waned. After the month of February 1843 only one thing excited him, his great wish to return to the House of Lords, to the disappointment of both Lord Beauvale and Lady Palmerston, who knew that his appearance there must make the public realise that a great change had come, and that he was no longer a force to be reckoned with. They would have preferred a complete retirement for him. Queen Victoria herself wrote to her old friend persuasive letters, desiring him to refrain from the exertion of the House of Lords. He went there on June 15, but returned, having realised his own weakness.

To Lady Palmerston from Lord Beauvale.

Tuesday

[1843 in Lady Palmerston's hand].

Billy being gone, I resume my functions.
Wm proposes going to town Monday next.

John Russell, like an honest little fellow, has written to him that there will be much excitement on Irish affairs, and recommends him to put off coming till July. Holland has been consulted by Wm and answers that He may come but must avoid over-excitement. This is rather oracular; if any thing turns out ill He will say "I warned you against it." Wm understands his letter to mean that He may go to the House of Lords. I have recommended that an explicit opinion should be asked from him on this point. We must have one out of Holland whether he will or no. The considerations it involves are too serious, and a failure or an exhibition on the part of Wm wld render it much more difficult for him to resume his place there hereafter when his cure shall be as complete as We are now authorized to hope it will be. I suspect that some of his Ladies have been pressing him to come up, and I know him to have confided to them that He finds his life here very dull. If He is ordered to give up the House of Lords, He may not improbably give up London along with it, and in that case what can be done to amuse him? He will not move, here I believe him to be unamusable, and I take a state of apathy and ennui to be a great drawback to his perfect recovery. Hope, variety, change of scene, pursuit of an object, coupled with an active invigorating life, these I take to be the things he wants. How and where are they to be found? Answer this and you will do more for him than the Doctors. The weather is dreadfully against him and against us all, nor do I see a hope of a change; if it go on it will change many things.

Irish affairs were causing great excitement in the country. After the Roman Catholic Relief Bill had been passed, Daniel O'Connell held out the attainment of the Repeal of the Union as the goal on which the people of Ireland were to concentrate their efforts. His followers were doubtful of the sincerity of his intentions until he abandoned the House of Commons, where the overwhelming Conservative majority gave him no hope of success, and, throwing his whole soul into the cause, urged his purpose in a series of public meetings where his impassioned eloquence inflamed the passions of the Irish people. He had organised in 1840 the National Loyal Repeal Association in such a manner that the tokens on its cards of membership constituted no infringement of the law against secret signs. The main object of the Association seems to have been to provide an effective machinery for the collection of funds and to train the people for concerted and effective agitation. There were two great differences between his movement and that of recent times. In the demonstrations which began at Trim on March 16, 1843, and ended with the proposed meeting at Clontarf on October 8, which was proclaimed the day before by the Irish Government, O'Connell never spoke of the forces of the Crown except with admiration and praise. The other difference was more important. One of the tests of membership of the Union was

Teetotalism—and the “Liberator,” as O’Connell was called by his adherents, was able at the monster meeting at Roscommon on August 20 to address his followers as “a Christian Guard of virtuous Teetotallers.” Extensive military precautions were taken by the Government. So anxious was O’Connell that his cause should not be spoilt by any collision with the law, that he took every possible step to prevent the assembly of the crowd when once the meeting had been proclaimed, and when the day had passed he met the Association with an address :

“I have to express my admiration at the exemplary conduct of the soldiery; nothing could be more proper than their behaviour: but nothing would be more cruel than to keep the poor fellows standing all day for nothing. And then there was the pride & pomp of the Lord Lieutenant going to review the Army. They assail us with the charge of desecrating the Sabbath, but I wonder what the Lord Lieutenant was doing on Sunday, mounted on his pony prancing down the road? I speak well of the people and of the soldiery, and my swelling heart beats high for the consummation of the liberty of Ireland.”

Palmerston’s comment in a letter of October 10 to Sullivan was cynical :

“Dan has proved himself not so good a General as the Duke. If Dan had not chosen to call the largest of all his meetings, or rather that which was intended to be so, under the

noses of the Garrison of Dublin 3000 men could not well have been brought to preoccupy the ground; and the Govt would probably not have interfered at the eleventh hour to forbid a meeting, if in consequence of that meeting being appointed at some place at a distance from any military station, they would have been unable to bring an overwhelming force to bear upon it. This was a great error in Strategy committed by the great Dan, fully as great as that by which Marmont gave an opportunity for the victory of Salamanca."

The Government arrested O'Connell a few days after, on a charge of inciting to Rebellion.

At the end of August Mrs. William Cowper died. She had only been married on June 27. Her illness and death were quite sudden. "I am so miserable for William," wrote his mother, "and to me the loss is very great. I so doated on the dear girl, and Palmerston & I looked forward to years of comfort from her affectionate and endearing ways. She was so single-minded, so childlike and loveable, so everything I could wish."

While the first days of grief were fresh, Lady Holland sent word to say that she would like a few days' change of air at Broadlands. "Recollect," wrote Lord Beauvale, "that Lady Holland is not like other people but brings Allen and 8 or 10 servants." Lady Palmerston, unable to face her in her grief, told her she was unable to receive her. Lady Holland then

established herself at the inn at Romsey, from where she wrote such accounts of her discomfort there that she succeeded in her object, and was admitted to Broadlands where it is to be hoped she was happy.

In June 1844 Nicholas I., the Emperor of Russia, announced a visit to England. The visit was slightly ill-timed, as the Court was in mourning, but it was impossible to do more than make the best of what was obviously intended as a great civility. A ball in aid of Polish refugees had been fixed, before his arrival was announced, for a date which would occur during his visit. He was invited to attend the ball, and got out of the difficulty by announcing his departure for the morning of the day on which it was to take place.

To Lady Palmerston from the Princess Lieven.

[*Translation.*]

Saturday, June 8, 1844.

MY DEAR FRIEND, a thousand tender thanks for your letter of the 5th. I beg you to continue writing. Give me all the details. Your letters always contain all that I am greedy to know. They are rich and full. In one of them, although you have not even seen the Emperor, I have been able to judge of his manner, his mood, and a little of the effect he produces. Tell me how he gets on with the Queen. There are some rather delicate points, for instance the mourning will

have struck him disagreeably. He is rather superstitious. I regret this mourning very much. After this, tell me whether it is true that he refused to have the Cabinet Ministers presented to him at Lady Peel's house when he went to pay her a visit?

As for the diplomats, I suppose his refusal to see them was because he did not wish to see the Belgian. How does he treat Aberdeen? Was he polite to the Opposition? Did he have any conversation with you? You will tell me all this. I am sure that you will be truthful about the impression he makes on you and on the public.

The ball for Polish refugees is an untoward happening. If I had been the Emperor's counsellor I would have had the applause on my side. An anonymous £20, and dance as much as you like.

My dear, I tell you the truth when I assure you that I think only of London and that I dream of it. All the scene is alive before my eyes.

Here there is a good deal of curiosity as to what is passing with you. Up to now the descriptions seem cold. I think that your public has not quite understood how naturally a great Emperor turns himself into a private individual, for the English like pomp for Royalty. But it is impossible for this great and imposing figure not to exercise a fascination, and I am sure he will leave a recollection of popularity. I am charmed with his liberality for the Ascot Races but I imagine that this will not exactly please the Queen on account of the contrast with Prince Albert.

The Cup which he presented at Ascot, and to which Mme. de Lieven alludes, is still run for.

In the midst of the excitement and turmoil caused by the arrival of Nicholas I., few can have thought that in a few more years we should be at deadly war with him. Lady Palmerston found him most agreeable :

“He said the giraffes and he were the lions of the day. The Queen complimented him on the size of the men of his army. He answered, ‘They are all at your disposal,’ and afterwards repeated what he had said to Sir Willoughby Gordon. His appearance is very striking, even more than I expected, such a mixture of dignity, simplicity, and courtesy. He wishes much to please and fully succeeds, nothing could be more flattering than what he said to Palmerston and to me of him.”

She compared him with the King of Saxony who was then in England, “quite a *lourdaud*, dull and common looking.”

As far back as the end of the year 1843 Lady Palmerston had remarked on the great personal unpopularity of Sir Robert Peel among his followers and thought “he would have to resign owing to his high-handed manner.” This was chiefly over Irish affairs, but it was thought that he himself began to doubt whether his administration would last. The session of 1844 opened quietly, and Peel announced in the House of Commons on February 2 that he meant to make no alteration in the Corn Laws, which satisfied his party. His position was

very difficult, for he was bound to make an attempt to remedy the prevailing distress. Many political economists thought that the depression was due to the high duty on foreign corn. The Queen herself was in favour of removing the restrictions on the importation of the supply of food, and told Peel so in 1845. The potato famine in Ireland had by then reached alarming dimensions, and the Cabinet met often and were full of anxiety. It was supposed that Peel would have been glad to take this opportunity of doing away with the Corn Laws. It was also said that he would not abandon the sliding scale which he had prepared, but the Cabinet was divided. It met on November 6, 1845, and Peel proposed to issue an Order in Council suspending the Corn Laws and opening the ports for a definite period. He also proposed to call Parliament together and propose a modification of existing laws. The Cabinet rejected these proposals. Peel was only supported by Lord Aberdeen, Foreign Secretary, Sir James Graham, Home Secretary, and Mr. Sidney Herbert, the youthful son of Lord Pembroke and the Russian Countess Catherine Woronzoff, who had been made Secretary at War, and given a seat in the Cabinet when Mr. Gladstone in the preceding February resigned the Presidency of the Board of Trade because he disapproved of the grant to Maynooth. On December 4 an announcement in

The Times that the Cabinet had agreed to an immediate and total repeal of the Corn Laws caused astonishment, and Sir Robert Peel felt compelled to send an express to the Queen assuring her that the announcement was without foundation.

The readers of Queen Victoria's Letters will know the current rumour, wholly unfounded, that this important secret had been sold to *The Times* by Mrs. Morton. The granddaughter of Sheridan the dramatist, married for the sake of a home to the son of Lord Grantly, ambitious, talented, pushing, always in pursuit of notoriety, she was an unfortunate factor in the political life of the time. The Whigs would in their own jargon deplore her want of *tenue*, and shrug their shoulders over the behaviour of "old Shery's" granddaughter. It was necessary to have some title to fame to receive her notice, but, this fame once established, there was no limit to the attention, epistolary or otherwise, that she would bestow on her new acquaintance. It should be added that Delane almost certainly derived his knowledge of Cabinet secrets from Lord Aberdeen.

While Sir Robert Peel was trying to come to an agreement with his colleagues, Lord John Russell, as the Whig leader, announced his acceptance of Free Trade in corn. On December 5 Peel resigned. Lord John Russell endeavoured to form a Government, but failed because many

Whigs, as well as the Queen, objected to Lord Palmerston at the Foreign Office. Lord Grey, better known as Lord Howick, who had recently succeeded his father, utterly refused to join a Cabinet in which Palmerston was Foreign Secretary, while Palmerston declined any other post. Lord John, weakened and harassed by domestic anxiety, gave up his attempt to form a Ministry, and the Queen again sent for Sir Robert Peel, who resumed office on December 29. Lord Lyndhurst's remark to Lord Dalling on the subject of the Corn Laws is worth quoting here, and those who read it can judge to-day whether his prophecy has been fulfilled. Lord Dalling says :

“ I remember Lord Lyndhurst once saying to me that the abolition of different duties in favour of our colonies, was a measure far more serious than the tax on tea, which produced the American War ; and in fact we thereby exchanged throughout our last dominions a system of assimilation and union, for a system of division and individuality. Whether such policy was wrong or right will be judged by our grandchildren *when the British Empire shall have been contracted in to the island of Great Britain contending with Ireland as to the separate existence* which has been granted to all the other possessions submitted to our rule.” ¹

The difficulties of the situation were such that, according to Greville, even Lady Palmer-

¹ *Life of Lord Palmerston*, by Lord Dalling, vol. iii, p. 189.

ston was glad to know that the Whigs were out of office. Lord and Lady Beauvale and Lord Melbourne went to Windsor early in 1846, from whence Lord Beauvale wrote to Lady Palmerston :

[*New Year, 1846.*]

The Queen attributes much of John's want of resolution to his Wife's state of health, and this is the only excuse which is found for him at Windsor.

She is not pleased at the offer of office to Cobden,¹ still less so at its having been made without communication with her, and least of all at his disposition upon the subject not having been previously ascertained whereby He has had the power of going swaggering about saying He had refused Office. There seems to be no very great confidence of Peel's carrying his measure, in which case they think it will go back to Ld John. I own I cannot see how. If Peel is beat, it will be by the Protectionists, in which case what can John do ? By all this I am constantly led to regret that P[almerston] did not stand by his first letter to Ld John, yet, high as his position wld then have been, I regret it less for his sake than that of the Country. Standing upon his original ground of a fixed duty, those who are not fanatics for Free Trade wld have had something to look to, and it is quite on the cards that the reasonable men of all parties wld have turned to him. At Windsor there is every disposition, if the case shld occur, to send to

¹ Lord Grey had demanded ■ seat in the Cabinet for Cobden, but there is no reason to suppose that Lord John Russell would, at that time, have granted the request.

some other Person than Johnny, but they do not see who. The question now is how far those to whom Johnny applied are pledged to go all lengths with him, Macaulay and Morpeth. Those three are incurables, though with regard to Johnny I am not sure He may not back out of it. Men do not reproach him with inconsistency, but I know not why, for his course has been that of the most inconsistent of men. However, be that as it may, if, among some of the principal persons of the rest, a reasonable middle course could be agreed upon, it might offer a way out of the mess.

What you thought my exaggerations are, I find, admitted on all hands. W[illia]m told the Queen that if there was a general curtailment of income, her experience of what took place on the income tax might shew Her that She wld be the first person called upon to relinquish a part of hers, to which She answered that She was aware of it and it must be submitted to. To the Prince I said that the total abolition wld imply a general revision of taxation, to which He also answered that He was aware of it, so that you see my two positions are admitted at Court, and whatever is admitted there has been taught them by Peel. Now this revision of taxation would be the immediate consequence of what is called compensation to the Agricultural interest, and it is the thing I fear the most, for I know it means plunder, though upon whom the plunder wld fall cannot be foretold beforehand. In the shock, however, of conflicting interests and pretensions which wld be let loose, more than one Ministry and perhaps more than Ministries might fall.

Aberdeen admits that there is no scarcity, and therefore no necessity for these measures. He also admits that the opening the Ports will do no good to the Irish potatoe eaters, for whom there must be a grant of a million, but He has convinced himself that the effect of the opening will be so small as to be almost insensible. If so (I asked) why have you raised all this hubbub? Because, He answered, the two halves of the Country were arrayed against each other so as to threaten civil war. Here is an admission of that which we suspected, that their measures had been dictated by fear and not by reason, while in truth from all I can learn it wld seem that the mass of the Country takes very little part or interest in the affair.

By God's blessing there is full employment with high wages and this it is which has rendered the efforts of the league headed by Peel and Johnny miraculously abortive, and this it is which renders a good and reasonable solution of the question still possible, if men can but be found with nerve enough to do what they think right; for the remarkable part of it is that in their hearts they are all agreed that some protection is necessary though they have not the courage to stand by it, and this I told to Aberdeen in conversation with him and the Prince without his venturing to deny it. I also told him that this Ministry wld not last 3 months,¹ nor did He contradict it except on the ground of there being no men on the other side of the question to form one, but He did not seem at all to relish the intelligence I gave him that Brougham was coming over to oppose them.

¹ Peel resigned on June 27, 1846.

The Queen does not like the exultation of the chief Whigs at being relieved from forming a Ministry and She knows all the details of it, the Duke of Bedford skipping about the room with John's letter in his hand, &c. &c. Remember this, if you have conversation with her, for we have hopes of yr being asked to Windsor before Parlt meets. You may not be aware that this was the object of Sir John's visit here and I thought He put it upon good grounds, but Wm could be made no use of, and I was but a blundering Agent, but Adine managed it beautifully with Anson¹ without in the least committing herself though She exposed to him the reasons for it, and She got in return an enquiry how long you wld remain at Broadlands. This was the last night and We think He could not of himself say more. I only fear the Coburg circumspection, but it is impossible to stand better than P. does and we know that his letter was much approved. There are surely more things behind but they do not rise to my mind at this moment. Here is however enough, but recollect it is strictly only for you and P.

[In Lady A. Beauvale's hand.]

The Queen asked me twice if you had been annoyed at Ld Grey's conduct & how Ld P. seemed to take it, adding that the newspapers both here and in France were sure to put the most ill-natured construction upon it. Which was exactly what I had said to that great Man *Anson* alluding to the *National* who said it was the Q[ueen] & L[ouis] Ph[ilippe] who objected

¹ George Anson, the Prince Consort's private secretary.

to Lord Palmerston & that Lord Grey was only an instrument.

I had mentioned this to Anson in order to say that it was these reports which would prove annoying to Ld P. & make a public testimony of the Q.'s kind feelings acceptable, & Her naming the newspapers allowed me to trace Anson's interference.

The Q. was also very anxious to know if Lord M[elbourne] had not been hurt at Her sending to Lord John, if he had approved Lord John's conduct, if his colleagues had kept him *au courant* of what was going on, etc etc etc—
In great haste, yrs affectly, A. BEAUVALE.

To Lady Palmerston from Lord Beauvale.

Jan. 5th, 1846.

There has been much political conversation here both with the Queen and Prince. She evinces great consideration and regard for P., is much displeased with Howick, and little content with J. Russell, first for hesitating to accept and 2dly for giving way after having accepted. Peel had the good sense, when sent for, to accept at once, saying that He knew not who were to be his Colleagues, but that He wld meet Parlt as He[r] My's Minister if He met it alone. This is what She thinks John ought to have done after putting himself in the case to be sent for, and so think I, but having written his letter¹ as an Opposition move, He was not up to the emergency which it brought upon him, and from this combination of audacity

¹ His letter of November 22, 1845, to the electors of the City of London, announcing his conversion to Free Trade.

and weakness Peel considers him to have behaved very ill to him (Peel).

In talking about Palmerston the Queen said to me that it was all in consequence of Syria and that the French had hardly yet got over it ; no, I said, nor never will, any more than they have got over Waterloo, but that is no reason for us to regret either one or the other, at which I had the satisfaction to see her chuckle with hearty glee, and this gave me an opportunity to repeat to her what Thiers had said " that He had no reason to be a friend to P. by whom He had been worsted, but that that did not prevent him from regarding him as the first Statesman of this age and perhaps of any other." Surely I told you this before, but you may have forgot, so I repeat. All this and much more in the same strain was corresponded to with full harmony by the Queen. She spoke about Ellice and asked if He was the cause of it all ? I told her that in my opinion He had been blowing it up for years but that the explosion had taken place against his will.

I shld have much more to say to you if we were together but the above are the main points. Wild about free trade¹ and the whole Household talking nonsense in the same direction. With this there is a great wish to undervalue the Aristocracy and (I doubt not) a great willingness to see them lowered. If the Protectionists had but common sense and wld yield what ought to be yielded, I firmly believe we shld beat Johnny [Russell], Peel and the League² united. Wm is a good deal puzzled

¹ That is, the Queen was " wild."

² The Anti-Corn Law League.

what to do, but I fully expect that if He continues as well as He is, He will speak against the sweeping measures which seem to be contemplated. Much conversation with Aberdeen and the Prince about Oregon which I will keep for P. when we meet.

I must add this whole affair seems to me to have turned out a triumph for P. instead of a check. Have you read the article in the *Examiner*? It is admirable.

To Lady Palmerston from Lord Beauvale.

Jan. 9th, 1846.

I forgot to mention that I told the Queen to read that paper in the *Examiner*, and as some of the things I told her out of it about Ld Grey amused her highly, I have no doubt She will. She did not seem to know much about the *Examiner* and rather thought it a paper in the style of *Punch*, so I told her the tale of the two Fairies came from it. It turned out that Anson had shewed it to Her, as I expected when I gave it to him at Melbourne and that She was much pleased with it, so all turned out as I expected, and that article in the *Examiner* will be good for Her to read. She still sees *Punch* in spite of his misdeeds, for I found She had seen that caricature of "You're not strong enough for the place, John," and She split her sides with laughing at it, so I hope She will have been equally amused with "The Artful Dodger," which is charming.

Emily Eden's account of the anxieties on the other side does not surprise me, for I never saw a man more embarrassed than Aberdeen.

While I was talking to him and the Prince, Wm came up and gave them his stock phrase "that the intention of opening the Ports early in November after the long and expensive harvest the Farmers had had and with wheat at so high price was the greatest piece of villainy He had ever heard of." To which Aberdeen had nothing to reply and in his heart I firmly believe agreed with him. The Prince then took me aside to ask me what I thought of the crisis they had passed through. What I think, I said, is that you will have more of them before this thing is settled. It may be so, He said, but I hope the measure will be satisfactory. This proved that there is a measure, so I set to pump, saying it could only be a compromise, and talking over the difficulties in the way of it, and the pronounced opposition of the League to anything of the sort, but in vain, the only phrase I could elicit was that He hoped the measure wld be satisfactory.

Now as to compromise, what can it be. The compromise of a fixed duty would not be final, but the experience of its working might give a ground upon which to estimate what further could be done safely, which ground is now entirely wanting. Some say Free Trade wld alter nothing, but these, I think, are men who have paid no attention to it. The free-trader Latimore, who has been bothering Wm for a lease, now declines to take it unless there is a clause stipulating an abatement in case of the abolition being carried. Graham, founding himself upon calculation, estimated the probable price of the quarter of wheat under abolition at 35 shillings. This, compared with present prices which are

not extravagant, wld be a difference of above 36 per cent, and this difference wld probably vary with seasons as much as the price does at present.

Next, if we are to look for compromise in an abatement of the burthens on Land, the 3 tangible points are Land tax, rates, and tithes. Good God! what a clamour the League will set up if a proposition shld be made to lay these or any portion of them on the general revenue, though in such a case the farmer wld still contribute his proportion of them—a clamour which need not, however, be much minded as it wld hardly be backed by the mob. But then wld come the real inherent difficulties of the case. What proportion do these things bear to the loss the Farmer wld sustain? How to apportion the sums required in lieu of poor and County rates? How to ensure the economical expenditure of them? How to pay the Clergy in lieu of tithes and to secure them against loss under all possible fluctuations? It is from these and a thousand other embarrassments that I shld expect such a gigantic *revirement* to end in plunder. It is from a wish to plunder the Landowner that this enterprise of the League is carried on. If the Landowner turns out, as appears very likely, to be able to defend himself it is probable that the compromise between him and the manufacturer may be effected at the expense of somebody else, and if the Church turns out to be weaker than these two, the thing may perhaps be settled in part at its expense. This I shld regret, first because I see no occasion to plunder any body and I fear the example, and 2dly. because I think the Church the

strongest remaining prop to our social system such [as] it still exists. Next wld come the question how to supply the deficiency in the revenue, and if it were proposed to do this by an encreased income tax then wld immediately arise the cry for a property tax in place of it, uttered by a fearful quantity of mouths. With this wld come a demand for equalization of taxation in the front of which wld be placed the claim for the imposition of the Legacy duty upon real property. By the side of all these wld come with resistless force and from various quarters demands for the abolition of heaps of duties upon other articles. What a confusion, what a chaos! Who is the man, being out of it, who would venture into it? If P. can see a glimpse of daylight through it, pray tell me in what direction it is to be found unless in standing by the present system and applying palliatives as they successively become necessary. If, I say, He can see this glimpse of light, pray tell me in what direction it is to be found. To me every thing else is chaos.

Observe however I am fully alive to the immense advantage of stifling all this cry by getting rid of the duty upon Corn if it can but be done without producing greater evils than the very great one of the cry. On the whole the task of opposition is just now a far easier and pleasanter one than that of administration.

It was during this visit to Windsor, of Lord and Lady Beauvale and Lord Melbourne, that Lord Melbourne, sitting next the Queen at dinner, broke out against Sir Robert Peel, saying

that his conduct was "damned dishonest." The Queen, much embarrassed, replied: "Lord Melbourne, I must beg you to say nothing on the subject now. At another time I shall be very glad to discuss it with you."¹

Sir Robert Peel, at the head of his new Government, proposed, on January 27, 1846, the gradual repeal of the Corn Laws, and carried the introduction of Free Trade in corn. But on June 26, when the House of Lords read the Anti-Corn Law Bill a third time, the House of Commons, on an Irish Coercion Bill, placed the Government in a minority of 73. Peel resigned next day, and Lord John Russell took office, with Palmerston as Foreign Secretary.

¹ Greville, *Memoirs*, vol. III. chap. xxv, p. 122.

CHAPTER XVII

LORD PALMERSTON AND HIS WIFE

IN the midst of the political anxieties Lady Palmerston found time to be amused by a romance connected with the John Russells. Lady John, second wife of Lord John, was the widow of Lord Ribblesdale,¹ and her eldest daughter by her first husband, Adelaide Lister, was the heroine of the story.

To Lady Jocelyn from Lady Palmerston.

CARLTON GARDENS

Wednesday [18 January 1847].

I have just seen Emily Eden, returned today from Bocket, leaving all well, and having passed two pleasant days there. She gives curious accounts of the Drummond marriage but must not be quoted—imagine that she ² ran away with him!! It arose in this way. L[or]d and L[ad]y John objected to the marriage but said if she persisted till she was of age they would give in—so is now 20, and there was to be no communication meanwhile. Having found out that he was often in the Square and Street

¹ This letter is printed by the permission of Lord Ribblesdale.

² Adelaide Lister, eldest daughter of Lady John Russell by her first husband, Lord Ribblesdale.

and that they wrote, L[ad]y John said to her that this was wrong and that as she had promised not to correspond or see him she hoped that she would give it up. Addy was making tea for Johnny, and L[ad]y John went out of the room to lye down as they had company to dinner—upon which Addy put on her bonnet and light shawl and without any other cloathes (like a heroine) set off to Stratton St., leant against a post and began crying. Maurice who was rushing home to dress for dinner as he was to dine with the Edens found her there and at first did not know her. She said she would not return home, so he said he was ready to go off, and they called a cab and went off to the station for Boulogne. They were telegraph'd to Folkestone but, I believe, crossed the sea. He had no money in his pockets and so was obliged to sell his watch. From Boulogne they were brought back and married yes[terda]y, but did you ever hear of such children—and above all such a girl.

Lord and Lady John found her gone when dinner was ready. Lady John thought she had gone to dress herself and was quite distracted and Ld John did nothing but cry at first and his vexation is of course great. Her fortune is 5000 which is 200. W. Drummond who has been furious against the marriage has, however, squeezed out 200, the interest of his son's fortune : the youth has one hundred as clerk and Lord John gives her 100, so they must live on 600. Don't mention these details to L[ad]y Harriet, or at least don't say where you heard them, as of course now the only thing is to hush them all up—but what an imprudent girl !

To Lord Palmerston from Lady Palmerston.

BROCKET,

Tuesday [21st ?] September 1847.

What a Worry that you should be away when you are so much wanted—all this news from all parts must require your attention and immediate directions & then I hear of this new delay.

Thanks for your few lines of Saturday which I got this Morn'g., & now I am in many minds how to direct this—Espartero's delay makes me frantic not knowing if it is important or not—but it seems to me that, being declared Cap'n. Genl., he ought not to lose a moment in being on the spot and supporting the Queen in her good intentions & difficult circumstances.¹

I have written to the D[uche]ss now to tell her of your arrival being delay'd & to advise his seeing Lord John if he has anything to say, but I believe it is only his Spanish supineness & unwillingness to *prendre un parti* that made him lay his idleness on his wish to see you.

I am very well & comfortable & the weather delicious; nobody here but Norman Macdonald—Fred Byng & Lord de Mauley went off to-day.

The Saturday when you wrote & had rain & storm, I came down here & had only Sunshine.

Adine & I drove to Panshanger to see Emily Eden.

¹ Espartero, the Spanish Liberal chief, who enjoyed the support of the British Government, had been overthrown in April 1843, and had been living in England. On the fall of Pacheco on August 31, 1847, there seemed a chance of Espartero regaining power, with the active assistance of Bulwer, the British minister at Madrid, but it came to nothing.

I will meet you in town any day you name,
& shall be very *very* happy to have you back.
My brothers both very well and amiable.

BROCKET,

Wednesday [22nd ?] September 1847.

How wanted you must be in London with all these great & anxious events in all parts of Europe and it seems so slow & distant, when I only get today your letter saying you have heard of Narvaez' defeat.¹ I hope tomorrow to get your letter rejoicing over Espartero's recall & appoint. but is he up to such a crisis! I wish he was more active & energetic—his sticking here upon some pretence or other instead of rushing to the Queen's support & rescue seems to me so Spooney, so thoroughly *Spanish*.

If you were here I think you would bustle him off, for I cannot conceive any good reason he can have for delay.

Are you not annoy'd at the Newspapers & common reports getting hold of this Mission of Minto's.² I fear there will be much more said about it—when people find out the report to be true—I am afraid John & Minto have been very imprudent, but I will tell you all this when we meet.

In the *Daily News* there was an extract from a Rome paper saying Ld Minto was expected

¹ General Narvaez, returning from France, had failed for the moment to dominate the Government. He reassumed dictatorial powers on October 4, 1847.

² Lord Minto, Lord John Russell's father-in-law, was sent in September on a Special Mission to the new Pope Pius ix., to strengthen his supposed leaning towards reforms.

there as Ambassador to the Pope. It looks always foolish when a Govern't. can keep nothing secret.

Thanks for your charming & interesting letters. I had a long one today to make up for the scrap of the day before. I hope you will have good weather for it will I fear be a rough sail. Our weather continues delicious. I am now alone with my brothers to-day as Norman Macdonald was off this Morn'g.

The enclosed extract from the *Standard* is probably not true but I daresay many such Stories will be made if we have any *rapprochement* with the Pope, all meant to frighten people out of their senses.

BROCKET,

Tuesday, (9 Novr., 1847).

I hope you will have enjoyed this charming day like me,—tho' I am afraid you will not have given up so much time to it.

I did not go out till one as the ground was so wet, but since then I have walked incessantly till dark—and I feel very much the better for it—& my head quite clear of any ache.

Fanny & the Children are very well & happy, & the Beauvales arrived last night from Tottenham.

I shall not come up tomorrow, dearest, as I think another day will do me good—but I don't like to hear of your being alone in London, so I rather hope the Queen may keep you.

Melbourne was very glad to see me; he has got quite well again,—& Miss Cuyler goes on her incessant reading as usual, which is rather tiresome for the listeners.

The fidget Jocelyn went up again to-day to return tomorrow, & we have nobody else here but Thomas.

Frederick is anxious for news of the Pope from Minto,—he says he has no doubt the Pope thinks England is on the Verge of turning Catholic herself with all these Conversions and Puseyism—have you heard who is to be our new Archbishop ? ¹

In 1848, Lady Palmerston's Diary for April 5 and 6 contains the word "Revolution." Feargus O'Connor, the leader of the Chartist party, whose Charter, drawn up in 1838, comprised such demands as universal suffrage, vote by ballot, annual parliaments, payment of members, abolition of the property qualification, and equal electoral districts, organised a monster meeting at Kennington Common on April 10, which turned out a failure. Every one expected a Revolution, and Lady Palmerston went early to Lady Shaftesbury's house, leaving her own fortified against all emergencies. The relief, when it was known that the meeting had been a failure, was general. The alarm had been so widespread that the public breathed again. She sent a hurried note to Lord Palmerston, imploring him to let her return home.

¹ The venerable Archbishop Harcourt of York had died on November 5, 1847. Later in the month Dr. Musgrave, Bishop of Hereford, was nominated to succeed him. Lord John Russell raised a storm of controversy by nominating Dr. Hampden to the see thus vacated at Hereford,

Monday, 10th April, 1848.

MY DEAR HARRY,

What a wonderful result; can it be really all over & will there be nothing more to-night?

Billy writes me word that Fe[a]rgus was quite terrified & made the Chartists give up their plans.

If all remains quiet I am very anxious to return home in the Even[in]g.

It will be much more comfortable & it seems perfectly safe, & besides if there is no danger, it would seem so foolish to go and *découcher* for nothing. *Pray* therefore give me leave to do so, if you see no objection, & as we have now a good exit to our House above & below, there can be no danger. I await your orders, however, but I think we had much better go there if there is no new outbreak intended or announced.

I have no fears now myself,—& we might have two Police as we had last night.

I am very anxious to go back after dinner.

Let me hear from you. I hear the Streets are quite quiet.

It crossed one from him, and she wrote again :

“It seems so ridiculous to be in a fright about nothing, so I shall order Wm’s fly to take me home about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10. It is better than a shewing Carriage, so you will find me there quietly when you come home.”

On April 30 she wrote :

“Frederick says he hears there is a strong attack preparing against you in the House of Lords,

for these letters of Bulwers,¹ & I think Brougham said to Miss Cuyler that he should go there to defend you. I am glad to see the *Examiner* takes your part, & very well done too—tho' he makes the mistake of supposing that your letter to Bulwer was written to Sotomayor. Sotomayor's was insolent & absurd, as the *Examiner* says—but I confess the tone of Bulwer's own to Sotomayor was very insolent & not proper from a Foreign Mission to a Minister; he might have said the same thing but with a less rude manner & language.

“Frederick is *very anxious* you should remove Bulwer—if not now directly, that you should lay the ground for doing so—that he can never now do any good where he is. That he never will be listen'd to, & that his conduct in all ways makes him quite unfit for the place—that you might have him home on leave & then do something else with him & send Cowley there—or anybody else. Every body knows that he was not warranted in sending your letter. Fredk. says Adair was the first person who called his attention to it, & he said Bulwer is evidently quite wrong—no letter is ever to be sent & a copy made unless it is so stated on the dispatch—so that without saying anything about it yourself, everybody knows that he has acted contrary to usage.

¹ Sir Henry Bulwer was Minister at Madrid. The Duke of Sotomayor was Minister for Foreign Affairs to Queen Isabel. Lord Palmerston wrote a letter on March 16, 1848, to Bulwer, desiring him to represent to the Queen that she would do well to change her Government. Sir Henry not only showed the letter to Queen Isabel's Premier, Narvaez, but caused it to be published in the opposition journals. Bulwer was ordered to leave Spain on May 19.

"I say all this because I am afraid you should go & act the Knight Errant to screen Bulwer if he is attacked—& really such a Man does not deserve that you should put yourself in any scrape for him."¹

The happiness of this marriage, which had caused her so much thought, was complete. On Lord Palmerston's birthday she wrote to him: "This is the most fortunate day of my life, the one to which I owe all my happiness, for it is your birthday. I hope & trust we shall see many more Anniversaries of it together."

Palmerston, writing about his wife during an illness, told his brother-in-law that "The soundness of her constitution and her heavenly temper and angelic sweetness & cheerfulness of mind & disposition have greatly assisted the skill of the physician, and the progress she has already made towards recovery is greater than he expected." They were a harmonious pair.

The life at Broadlands must have been very delightful. A constant stream of guests came and went, Lady Palmerston receiving them in her own inimitable way. At luncheon, Lord Palmerston, who had been hard at work all the morning, and who never partook of that meal, would look in half-way through, and eat an orange. His daily ride was never forgone,

¹ Narvaez gave Bulwer his passports on May 17, 1848. The Queen was furious with Bulwer, and the Radicals were angry with Lord Palmerston.

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and he used generally to be accompanied by some of the guests staying with him. His grandson, Evelyn Ashley, who was at one time Lord Palmerston's private secretary, and the son of Lady Shaftesbury, used to give a description of Lord Palmerston's method of dealing with those who came in hopes of rewards and preferment. Evelyn one day brought him a letter from a man asking for a peerage as a reward for what he called his "services." Lord Palmerston considered the letter for a moment, and then said abruptly, "I can't give him a peerage"—then adding brightly as an afterthought, "but I'll give him a day's shooting." Another time, Lord Palmerston knew that a man who was staying at Broadlands had come to ask him a favour. No opportunity was afforded the guest of speaking to the Prime Minister alone until the last night. After dinner Lord Palmerston turned to him and said, "Will you come and have a game of billiards with me?" The visitor, delighted, followed him eagerly; as they reached the door, Lord Palmerston turned and said, "Won't you come too, Evelyn?" The last chance of a private interview was gone! Another guest longing for promotion was invited by Lord Palmerston to ride with him. Sure of success, he met his host in good time at the front door, where Lord Palmerston's well-known old white horse and a pony for the guest were waiting. Lord Palmerston without a word

jumped on his horse and started off at a hand gallop; the guest went in hot pursuit, never catching him up till they returned to the front door at the end of the ride.

Lord Shaftesbury used to speak of the wonderful idyll of the married life of Lord and Lady Palmerston, and described how they would start off together in the mornings at Broadlands to plant shrubberies and trees, as if "they could count on sitting together under the shade of what they had planted." In thinking of Lord Palmerston, she forgot her age. She was sixty-two when, at a breakfast at Holland House, she beckoned to Evelyn Ashley, her grandson. "Come back with me, Evelyn, to London," she whispered anxiously; "Poodle Byng has asked for a seat in my carriage and I don't think Palmerston will like it."

Her affection sustained and helped the man she loved. She soothed him, humoured him, guided him. She knew much that he did not know. He had never been really liked or accepted by the Whigs: he was not one of themselves. He came, so to say, from nowhere, and made his way by his own wit and force of character. Just as Elizabeth, Lady Melbourne, was never really accepted by the great Whig families, so Lord Palmerston was mistrusted by the party whose principles he professed. His jaunty manner, his insouciance, his air of *un homme à bonnes fortunes* offended the fastidious Whig

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canons of taste. The Queen resented his manner, and his habit of treating her as if she was a little girl.

“I am sure the Queen is very angry with you!!” wrote his wife in 1848. “I am afraid you contradict her notions too boldly. You fancy she will hear reason, when in fact all you say only proves to her that you are determined to act on the line she disapproves, & which she still thinks wrong. I am sure it would be better if you *said* less to her—even if you *act* as you think best. I often think there is too much knight errantry in your Ways. You always think you can convince people by Arguments, & she has not reflection or sense to feel the force of them—therefore the strength of your Arguments & all the explanations you give only prove to her how deeply imbued you are with what she calls error, & how impossible it is for her to make any effect on you. I should treat what she says more lightly & courteously, and not enter into argument with her, but lead her on gently, by letting her believe you have both the same opinions in fact & the same wishes, but take sometimes different ways of carrying them out.”

The particular cause of the Queen's anger against Lord Palmerston on this occasion was that when in June 1848 she disapproved of the tone of a draft sent by him to Sir Hamilton Seymour, our Minister at Lisbon, with reference to his attitude towards the Portuguese Government, Lord Palmerston deferred sending

a draft at all. The Queen was very angry. "No remonstrance has any effect with Lord Palmerston," she said.¹

On November 24, 1848, Lord Melbourne died at Bocket. His was a painful, lingering death, but on the day before came an interval of peace. His sister stood by his bed and felt it a comfort to see his "beautiful countenance, so calm, contented and resigned." The windows were open, and a soft autumn air just stirred the curtains of the room. The sun's last rays shone on the noble features, and on the wasted hands that lay on the coverlet. The autumn leaves were falling. The twilight crept over the water where the swans were nestling in the reeds. The night passed; the old man lay quiet and calm. Only a sigh at six o'clock told the watchers that he had gone.

In the next room lay his brother Lord Beauvale, also seriously ill, but with his young wife beside him. Though he recovered slightly, his health was completely broken. "If you should see the Queen or Anson or any of them, & they should ask, say exactly but don't make the account any better than it is or they will say we deceive them," wrote Lady Palmerston to her husband. Lord Beauvale succeeded to his brother's title and estates, and with them to a heritage of worry. To the astonishment of Lord Melbourne's family, when the will was opened,

¹ See *Letters of Queen Victoria*, under date of June 26, 1848.

his executors were found to be Mr. Edward Ellice and Lord Brougham. His affairs were in a state of great and extraordinary derangement. He had spent much money and, instead of being stingy as some people thought, turned out to have been only too liberal. "He was capricious about money, & generous or stingy by fits and starts. Easy & indolent, he suffered himself to be plundered by his servants and took little trouble in looking after his affairs."¹ Soon after Melbourne's death, and while his friends were still weighing his merits and discussing his character, the Whigs lost another well-known man in Charles Buller, who was one of the early Radicals, but who greatly modified his opinions in later years.² Buller was a constant visitor at the Grange, where Lady Harriet Baring exercised her tyrannical sway, and it might have been supposed that she would feel his death.

"Poor Charles Buller's death has shocked people very much as it was so unexpected—and they say his fistula was ill managed by his Surgeon. Little M. Fleming was devoted to him night and day but could not save him—people were curious to know if Ly Harriet (who never cares for anything) would care for this but I believe not, for she has not put off the party she was just going to have at the Grange and merely sent to invite another man to fill up his

¹ Greville, *Memoirs*, vol. iii, p. 248.

² Buller had helped Lord Durham to draft the report on Canada in 1839. He died in December 1848.

place ! *Est-il possible ?* Emily Eden was told this by somebody who had seen the invitation."

Sometimes, though but seldom, the post arrived without a letter from Lord Palmerston, and then a little gentle reproof would come from Broadlands or Bocket, tacked on to political news and opinions.

On November 19, 1848, while Lord Melbourne lay dying, William Cowper married, as his second wife, Georgiana Tollemache. Lady Palmerston was very thankful for his happiness and took his lovely bride at once to her heart. She seems to have found it necessary to explain to her daughters that this made no difference in her affection for them, in a long letter to Lady Jocelyn in which she described her daughter-in-law :

December 1848.

Don't be afraid, my darling, that any merit should cut out my own children, no, indeed my prejudices are too strong for that !! She really is most amiable and kind and it makes me very happy to see her and William so loving, and both seeming so perfectly happy. She enters into all his feelings and notions, and evidently quite adores him, and he is evidently very proud of her. Will you be surprised after all this if I tell you that I do not think her so *very* handsome ; that I don't think her face is to be mentioned on the same day as either yours or Minny's. However, she is quite goodlooking enough and she has a very agreeable counte-

nance—and so the more or less is of very little importance, and then she's very good, as Hawkey says, and that's of more importance. She plays well on the piano and is very cheerful. I am sorry to say they go tomorrow to Panshanger, but I hope they will return here Tuesday—when Anne goes to Wrest.

Billy is at Dunrobin with his Wife. On the road they went near Balmoral & came on a narrow part where they met the Queen on a Highland Pony. She went off the road to let their Vehicle pass, which shocked Wm., but he could not help it, and they made signs to his Coachman to come on, which he did—she looked then very eagerly into his double Dogcart and her quick glance soon recognized her old acquaintance at which she seemed very much amused.

This is really primitive enjoyment for a Queen accustomed to so much state : she had no riding Habit on but merely a Gown & ugly bonnet.¹

Yesterday I went to see L[ad]y Anglesey and there found L[ad]y Sandwich who had just had a horrible large tooth out with an abscess formed at the root ; she took chloroform and felt nothing—nor did she think it disagreeable. It is a wonderful discovery and every day one hears of fresh wonders. It is thought it will relieve lockjaw and hydrophobia by relaxing the muscles. It is constantly used now in Lying-in Hospitals and L[ad]y Robert [Cecil] swears by it ; she took it when the bad pains came on and felt nothing till she heard the child cry. Adelaide who went with Ly Sandwich said she sang like a drunken woman upon taking it and

¹ The Queen made her first stay at Balmoral in September 1848.

looked quite happy while they took her tooth out.¹

In September 1850, General Haynau visited London. He had gained an unenviable notoriety at Brescia in 1849 and during the campaign against the insurgents in Hungary, by his harsh treatment of prisoners: he had even ordered women to be flogged. When he foolishly went to see Barclay's brewery, the draymen set on him and, after giving him a good drubbing, tossed him in a blanket and rolled him in the mud. Palmerston, in reply to the protests of the Austrian Ambassador, wished to express his disapproval of Haynau, who was commonly nicknamed "Hyæna." The Queen objected, and Lord John Russell induced Palmerston to modify his dispatch. Austria retaliated later—much to the Queen's annoyance—by declining to send a military representation to attend the funeral of the Duke of Wellington.² Lady Palmerston sympathised with her husband's view, but Lord Beauvale, having lived so long in Vienna, was inclined to take the Austrian side. The incident, he thought, was "a blot upon our character, which, through the language of the newspapers, is unfortunately not confined to the mob."

In the autumn of 1850, the Emperors of

¹ Sir James Simpson's invention of chloroform was just coming into use.

² *Letters of Queen Victoria*, under dates October 8, 1850, etc., and November 23, 1852.

Russia and Austria demanded that the Sultan should surrender to them the numerous Hungarian and Polish insurgents who had taken refuge in Turkey. Sir Stratford Canning, our Ambassador at Constantinople, encouraged the Sultan to resist this monstrous demand. Palmerston gave him the fullest support and convinced the timid Cabinet and the anxious Court that the Sultan must be helped. When the Tsar sent an ultimatum to Constantinople, and the two Powers broke off relations with Turkey on September 17, Palmerston induced the Cabinet to order the Mediterranean Fleet, under Admiral Sir William Parker, to approach the Dardanelles. The threat sufficed.

To Lord Palmerston from Lady Palmerston.

Wednesday
[October 3rd, 1849 ?].

Many thanks for your details my dearest Harry. It is very *satisfactory* that the Cabinet should be so united on this point. If the Emperor is not mad, he will pause, and our bold attitude will daunt him.

I hope & trust Sir Wm Parker started directly, but it is a great comfort to hear the Turk has Troops & Ships enough to repulse a surprize.

Frederick thinks the Sultan should be advised to send off directly from his Territory the Refugee Poles, because he would then have acted in accordance with his Russian Treaty, & the Emperor could not find any reason to complain. His saying their departure was a cause

of War could not be maintained and this might perhaps let him out of his difficulty, for I cannot but think he would like to slip out, tho' he is so arrogant & proud, he would rather be cut in pieces than alter a determination.

What fools the Austrians are to have taken him on their Shoulders,¹ instead of trying conciliation with the Hungarians !

Frederick says that he cannot believe the Austrians will really go with him on this occasion so contrary to all their former policy ; he says that he is quite sure Metternich would not.

Mad[am]e Lieven writes in great anxiety, but never contemplating the possibility that *her* Emperor should give way : she says if the Turk is obstinate, *voilà la guerre générale*, & she is in despair.

Frederick has written to her what he thought would do good, that her Emperor had not a Leg to stand upon & that in Eng[lan]d everybody would be united to support the Turk, and that the Govt were all of that opinion—he shewed me his letter that I might see that he did not *compromettre* you.

He has written also to Metternich to ask if it was possible that the Austrian Government should go with the Russian in such an outrageous proceeding.

Now for our plans. The D[uche]ss [of Bedford ?], I suppose, thought we were in town & could go down directly, so she says they would be delighted to see us *today* till Saturday. I

¹ The Emperor of Austria had in the spring of 1849 implored the help of the Tsar in crushing the Hungarian insurgents ; Görgei, with the last insurgent army, surrendered to the Russians at Vilagos.

have written to her now to explain that the Cabinets & new events prevented our going this week—and if she does not propose next week, I shall judge that John will not be there in which case you had better come down here Saturday after Osborne or Sunday.

This is a complete rainy day and I have not been able to put my Nose out—but I am very well & busy with my Blue Book.

I paid your Groom's bill and told him to go up—but on account of this rain he seemed to wish to stop till tomorrow having as he said no great Coat & there has been no stop to the rain.

I hope dearest that you keep well. It is a great bore to be separated in this way. What a good Article in the *Times* Yesterday!

To Lord Palmerston from Lady Palmerston.

5 October 1849.

I think you had better come here, as Woburn seems out of the question.

Frederick thinks the Emperor [of Russia] must retract, but we are glad to see all papers, even the *Standard*, with us.

The *Globe* article we think very good in details & information, but we think it is too violent in its tone & abusing the Emperor. If we wish to avoid war & to conciliate, it would be better to avoid strong abuse, don't you think so, and if so, tell him to smoothe down his feathers. You are soft to Colloredo & Brunow—& this violent tone is not in harmony.

Still it is a pleasure to poke at the Emperor & I feel a little glad to see how down in the Mouth Adine & Fred are at their Hero's conduct.

To Lord Palmerston from Lady Palmerston.

BROCKET,

Monday [11 Novr., 1850].

I hope to see you tomorrow between one & two. We are scared by the Newspaper this afternoon & the prospect of a German War—Prussia seems to be quite in earnest.¹

Why did not you *think* of me last night? If you had sent a few lines in the Eveng to the Post, I should have got them this afternoon.

We have had a delicious day and I have enjoyed it very much, but I grieved that you was not with me to feel the benefit of these healthy breezes, and the life you are obliged to lead, and the trial it is to your Constitution, makes me very unhappy.

The Lord Mayor's dinner seems to have gone off prosperously and your speech reads very well, & was, I see, very well received.

Frederick in a great taking about this calling out of the Prussian Army, but contrary to custom he is now all with Prussia, thinks the Count Thune [?] ² is wrong in Hesse—and that the Austrians have forced on this measure of Prussia by proposing, after Brandenburg ³ had agreed to their terms, that the Prussian Troops should evacuate Hesse which was insulting.

Adieu, dearest, I shall say no more, as we meet so soon, I hope.

¹ A reference to the dispute between Austria and Prussia over Hesse-Cassel, when Austria was supporting the Elector against his restless subjects. Prussia had mobilised on November 6, but had virtually given way to Austria on the 9th.

² Probably a reference to the Prince of Thurn and Taxis, who commanded the Austrian forces in Hesse.

³ Count Brandenburg, the Prussian Premier. He died on November 6, 1848, while the dispute was proceeding.

CHAPTER XVIII

LORD PALMERSTON'S DISMISSAL

THERE are now long gaps between the letters, so that many important matters have to be passed over in silence. Stray passages refer to the differences between the Queen and Lord John Russell on the one hand and Lord Palmerston on the other, which became more and more acute as the years passed. Palmerston had a way of speaking his mind in despatches which delighted the public and distressed the Court and the timid Prime Minister. Typical of his style is the following :

*To Sir John Milbanke, Bart., Munich, from
Lord Palmerston.*

FOREIGN OFFICE,
31st January, 1848.

Pray tell P. Wallenstein that if he wishes the British and Bavarian governments to be on good terms, he will abstain from any attempt to interfere with our diplomatic arrangements, as such attempts on his part are as offensive as they will be fruitless : and really when he gravely recommends as a means of placing the

arrangements of the British and Greece governments upon a friendly footing that we should remove the Secretary of the Legation at Athens it is difficult to listen to such a proposal without laughing at its childish absurdity. But pray make him clearly comprehend that I will never sacrifice any British diplomatic officer, high or low, to the whims and caprices of any Foreign Prince or Potentate, and that even if I were disposed to do so to please any sovereign, King Otho is the last on earth whose wishes would have the slightest influence on my mind. Otho has behaved too ill in every respect to deserve the slightest consideration from the British government and he must greatly alter his conduct, both to England and Greece, before we can feel the smallest desire to consult his Feelings in the most trifling matter.

Pray read to Prince Wallenstein the greater Part of this Letter, leaving out only the childish absurdity.

Prince Otho of Bavaria, while still a minor, had been called to the throne of Greece in 1832 by England, France, and Russia, to put an end to the revolt of Greece against Turkey, and to induce Turkey to acknowledge the independence of Greece. The Powers had undertaken that constitutional institutions should be given to Greece as soon as Otho came of age, but this promise was not kept, as it was to the interest of all the signatories except England to prevent its being kept. The Greeks did not receive a constitution till 1844. Captain Edmund Lyons,

Secretary of Legation at Athens,¹ was for various reasons unpopular with all the Powers, and King Otho seems to have solicited his recall. The situation of Sir John solemnly reading out the insulting words of his chief to an already irritated Minister of Bavaria beggars description.

The Germans used to say, "Hat der Teufel einen Sohn, dann ist er sicher Palmerston." It may be that Lord Palmerston's idiosyncracies had, as nearly always happens, become more pronounced with age. He seemed to look on the Foreign Office as his own. He managed it without reference to the Prime Minister or the Cabinet, not as a department of State but as the State itself. The Queen, who was in personal and friendly relations with most of the monarchs of Europe, was continually finding that these relations were strained and embittered by actions performed and despatches sent without her knowledge. When she required an alteration in a despatch, Lord Palmerston sometimes said that it was too late and the despatch had gone, or else he would cancel the despatch.

Lord John was continually quarrelling with Lord Palmerston, on the Queen's behalf, but saw the impolicy of forcing him to resign. The Government were beaten by 37 votes in the

¹ Captain Edmund Lyons, R.N. (1790-1858), was at Athens from 1835 till 1850. He was second in command in the Mediterranean from 1853 to January 1855, when he succeeded Admiral Dundas.

House of Lords on June 17, 1850, on a vote of censure for their coercive measures against the commerce and the people of Greece in the affair of Don Pacifico. In the House of Commons, on June 24, Mr. Roebuck moved a resolution applauding the principles which had hitherto regulated the Foreign Policy of the Government. On the next night Lord Palmerston made a most brilliant speech—"4 hours and 50 minutes without a pause," according to Lady Palmerston, who "had the good fortune to hear it and to see its marvellous effect on his audience, attentive and breathless." It contained the famous peroration, quoting *Civis Romanus sum*, with the proud boast that Great Britain would defend British citizens wherever they might be. Peel, replying in the last speech that he made in the House, warmly congratulated the Foreign Secretary. When the numbers were counted after the division, the Ministerial majority was 46, thus completely reversing the verdict of the Lords. But the climax came in December 1851, when after the *coup d'état* of Prince Louis Napoleon, President of the French Republic, the Cabinet decided to adopt a friendly but reserved tone towards the new sovereign. The French Government said that Lord Palmerston, in a conversation with Count Walewski, the French Ambassador in London, had expressed his approval of the step in so official a manner that Count Walewski conveyed this approbation

to his Government. The Queen wrote to Lord John expressing her displeasure at this proceeding, and Lord John forwarded the letter to Lord Palmerston, adding that he agreed with the Queen about these repeated difficulties and disputes, and that the Queen wished to transfer the office to other hands. Lady Palmerston's only comment on the whole incident in her Diary, on December 18, was that they came down to Broadlands and were going in the same carriage with Lord Grey, but instead had a carriage to themselves, as they were glad to talk privately of a disagreeable letter just received. She did not sleep all night. The blow was too great. If it had even been a forced resignation! But dismissal—the word had an ugly sound. Many causes had contributed to this action of Lord John's, besides the reason he gave to Lord Palmerston. Only a few weeks before, Palmerston had offended the Queen by indirectly showing courtesy to Kossuth, and by receiving addresses of thanks, in which the Radical electors of Finsbury and Islington expressed very plainly their contempt for Austria. The Queen's excessive anxiety lest the Emperor of Austria should be offended was with difficulty relieved by Lord John Russell.

The rumours current on such a *coup de main* as the dismissal of the powerful Foreign Secretary were unending. Lord Brougham wrote from the Château Eléonore at Cannes to a friend :

“ You will naturally want to know if I have heard anything from London on the Pam *coup d'état*. Beauvau writes on the 20 or 21st & begins by saying he has not heard of — about the *coup d'état*, which, except from my letters is what I had told him, as I believe I told you that I saw indications of some such attempt. I assured him truly that I still pursued [*sic*] in my opinion. This was that it was either sudden or well concealed, for it seems to have been consummated, either on or before Monday last. I had letters yesterday in which mention is made of the Queen being against Louis Napoleon & his proceedings, and also of Pam being in great favour with her. As I am quite confident the latter part of the statement is unfounded, I conclude the other is so too. But I am disgusted beyond measure at the low proceedings of John Russell in giving a fling at Pam in his late answer to the Manchester deputation.¹ No one can disapprove or rather lament more than I do what passed with the mob, disputes in Derry and about Kossuth, but kept my opinion to myself & only let P.'s friends know it. I would on no account whatever have said a word to any other, & here is his own colleague coming down on him with a [indecipherable]. They have lost by far the best man they had & will [indecipherable] to feel this. Granville is by no means a bad appointment, but it shews that all idea for union with the Peel men is out of them now. Pam's going out would have removed the main difficulty as to Aberdeen, but as they have filled up his place it seems plain that they are not looking

¹ They desired to present an address sympathising with Kossuth.

to that [indecipherable]. If so it must be a purely Reform Cry that John Russell is meditating and I don't see that this can answer."

Lord John Russell was meditating a new Reform Bill at a time when his Government was weakening and required all the support they could get, and the dismissal of Lord Palmerston was extremely unpopular. Lord Howden, our Ambassador at Madrid, immediately sent in his resignation, alleging that he could no longer be of any use there, as "the retirement of Lord Palmerston either actually is or most certainly will be believed to be a direct concession to the reactionary spirit which is riding roughshod over the world & which is nowhere to be apprehended more than in Spain." ¹

"I can tell you that Grey had nothing whatever to do with it," wrote Lord Brougham a day or two after his former letter, "and next that Palmerston is *exceedingly* angry at the whole, but especially, as I understand, at the manner of putting him out. He didn't go to Windsor to deliver up the seals,² but sent them by a messenger. It is believed that he was not summoned to the Cabinet on Monday but immediately after received a notification that he was to go out, & Granville to come in. I think that anything so perfectly silly as this never was done except perhaps when Glenelg was

¹ *Life of Lord Palmerston*, by Ashley, vol. i, p. 309.

² This turned out afterwards to be owing to a mistake, but great capital was made out of the incident at the time.

turned out,¹ and I know many people who never forgave that matter from the way of doing it more than the thing itself. I mean people who had not the least liking for G. or dislike of the Government. Everyone feels such things to be intolerable. I don't at all believe that it was Prince Albert's fault. Granville coming in will make people suspect that the whole originated with the terms on which P. had placed himself with Austria, and that if the bother of the *coup d'état* (for there has been something of that kind, though less than has been said) had any truth in it, that was made the *occasion* and was not the *cause*. It was as much a surprise in the Cabinet as on the public."

"I fear Lady Palmerston is taking it to heart *far more than she ought*," wrote the indefatigable newsmonger of the Château Eléonore from Lyons, while on his way back to Cannes after a visit to Paris. "I find that the attempts to get Graham² failed but I have no accounts of the manner in which they failed. The opinion continues to prevail that John Russell cannot go on, but he is determined to try and he meets Parliament in that resolution. Stanley's³ difficulties seem to be as great as they were, but he and J. don't much see how they can make a government. Certainly the Colonial

¹ He was Secretary for War and the Colonies, and resigned in February 1839.

² Sir James Graham had been asked to join the Government, but refused, as he said they were already falling, and he could not prevent it, but would himself be dragged down.

³ The Earl of Derby, hitherto known as Lord Stanley, was the Conservative leader.

Department, as it was *then* intended to be, would rather be a standing menace, and the *absolute certainty* of all differences among the Whigs, Radicals, &c, being got over the moment they were out and the Government being in the hands of the Tories must occur to whoever tries to form a Conservative Government. Mme. de Lieven writes in great delight with all that has happened in France. . . . Her salon is the only one in Paris that still is open, and no doubt there is great distrust and apprehension prevailing. I hear that one of the Foreign Ministers had a dinner at which he appeared with a piece of sticking plaster on his mouth, or at least near it, as a hint, and that Pahlen¹ had a hint conveyed to him to be cautious if he did not wish to leave the country. He had been talking rather freely. I found the alarm about Socialists every where on my road, and I saw Legitimists, Orleanists, & Republicans at Aix & Avignon, & though they did not deny the great exaggeration, they admitted that there *had* been much danger. I saw one of the officers who had commanded against them. He admitted that there was little or no plundering. I was quite sure there had been gross exaggeration."

This letter must have been balm to Lady Palmerston, for Lord Palmerston had made his approval of Louis Napoleon's act hinge on the fear of Socialism. Louis Napoleon had said that he was forced to the *coup d'état* because of his knowledge of Socialist plots against him.

¹ Count Nicholas Pahlen, Attaché to the Russian Embassy.

To Lady Palmerston from Lord Beauvale.

Dec. 26, 1851.

How kind of you to write me all these interesting details at a time when you are so full of worry and vexation. I need not say how grieved I am that anything so annoying shld have befallen you. The only facts I know connected with the case are, 1st, that the offer was made to Clarendon who declined it, and thereupon it was transferred to Granville, 2dly, that there is intense curiosity to learn the facts of the case and great anxiety as to the line P[almerston] will take. Mahon was over here early yesterday full of speculations, but as you had told me to repeat nothing He went as He came. Later We had to go to Hatfield where Salisbury came to me in my carriage and wld not believe I knew nothing. The dear little Lady Salisbury said to Adine, "All Parties will be very civil to Ld P. now." This morning I see how angry the Manchester People are with John's answer to their request for an audience. I fear that between the loss of P. and the exigencies of the ultra-Reformers, John may be driven far beyond the mark. My consolation is that P., released from the solidarity of office, will be at liberty to speak his real sentiments upon reform and join in restraining it within reasonable limits. Unfortunate it is that our Bear has not only broken with John but has been all this time out of town or I shld surely have learnt more.

On February 20, 1852, Lord John Russell's Ministry resigned. Lord Palmerston, dissatis-

fied with the Militia Bill, moved an amendment on which he defeated the Government by a majority of 11. It was, he said, his tit-for-tat to Johnny Russell for the unhappy incident of two months before. Lord Derby formed a Cabinet and invited Lord Palmerston to join it, but he refused on the ground that he disapproved of any duty on corn.

The letters that follow describe the excitement of the elections of 1852, after the dissolution of Parliament, recommended by Lord Derby two or three months after he had formed his Government.

To Lord Palmerston from Lady Palmerston.

8 July, 1852.

Thank you my dearest for all your details & for your Speech in the Newspaper which is capital—I never read anything better, so clever, so witty, so exactly all one could wish and *dans le fond* so conservative. Every body is charmed with it, I hear, and have come to wish *me* Joy of it—Bowles, Sullivan, Fleming & Perponcher who repeats it all by heart in his admiration.

I am quite proud, *even* more than usual. What a happiness it is to have such a husband.

God bless you dearest.

Awfully hot day again.

Neck & Neck contest for the City. Shelley sure. Maidstone was 300 ahead but now near, so Evans had nearly got up to him.

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C. GARDENS,
Saturday, 10 July, 1852.

I shall direct this to Devonport. I long to have you home—but don't miss anything you wish to do—as this is not an opportunity you may have again.

Fanny is going to drive with me to Anne's party at Putney. The Sun is still very hot, but there is more air than we had yesterday.

Many of the Elections have turned out strangely and unexpectedly—and we have had some losses—much to be regretted, particularly Ebrington. By very close calculation last night the Govmt were said to have gained 8, & this was from some fair calculations.

The Peelites are very much cut up, which I am sorry for.

I should say the Speeches & addresses and general tone must have opened Ld John's eyes to his true situation. Nobody praises him or puts his name forward if they can help it—unless it be to abuse him—so different from the tone pursued towards him on other Elections at former times.

C. GARDENS,
Sunday, 11 July 1852.

I am in hopes of seeing you Tuesday—and that you will like my being at home Saturday. Azeglio came today and brought me Cavour,¹ is that his name?—the Man we were to meet at Hathertons. He is pleasing & intelligent looking—would it not be right to ask them to dinner Saturday & any other few I can think of?

¹ Massimo d'Azeglio, the Italian patriot; Count Camillo di Cavour, the future Minister of King Victor Emmanuel.

Last night I went to D[uche]ss of Somerset's & Made. Walesky's.¹ Nothing talked of but Elections & most people in a fury—all complaining of Bribery. It is said the Carlton Club have been lavish. Ebrington talks of Bribery, so does Damer Dawson.

I had some talk with Disraeli at D[uche]ss of Somerset's, & some with Cockburn, & some with Easthope² today, and there are great fears about Middlesex Election. Maidstone & Ld Blandford are going to start against the present Members and people are all very hot. They say at Derby one man was discovered in a dark room paying Votes and a letter with the seal of the Carlton Club. When there are so many people put out & disappointed of course the cry is sure to be bribery—true or not.

These Elections seem to increase the confusion of parties, and I don't see my way. The Peelites are very angry & Duke of Newcastle looks discomfited. As I came out of Church to-day, I met Ebrington & Cardwell & had some talk with both. Very hot to-day but still there is a little breeze.

Every body I hear & particularly the Government, are loud in their abuse of L[or]d Salisbury for turning out Mahon to bring in a Radical. Indeed he did this advisedly after he knew his own candidate Dimsdale must be beat. There never was such a pig-headed man.

Azeglio, Cavour & Waleskys are gone to dine at Richmond today; they always Junket on a Sunday. I am glad you go to the Cattle Shew,

¹ Count Walewski was the son of Napoleon I. and the beautiful Polish Countess Walewska.

² Sir John Easthope, proprietor of the *Morning Chronicle*.

but I suppose you will come back next day, so my party would come in very well. People are all eager for me to be at home. If you are in Town Friday, perhaps that day would do better than Saturday, as people tack out of town on Saturdays at this time of year.

When the new Parliament met, the strength of the different parties was—Conservatives 299, Liberals 315. The Peelites, who had been deprived of their leader by the death of Sir Robert Peel, numbered 40. Lord Palmerston had gone down for the election at Tiverton, where a Captain Stirling was put up against him. "I went last night to Lady Willoughby's," noted Lady Palmerston, "and Disraeli came & sat by me. He said they were watching the Election as the Egyptians did the Nile. They had no doubt of its rising—but the doubt was whether it would rise high enough. He is very fond of Eastern imagery."

On September 14, 1852, the great Duke of Wellington died. Lady Palmerston wrote to Lady Jocelyn, who was at Nice, about the Duke's funeral on November 18, and also about the political situation. Her prognostication that Lord Derby might not be able to retain office was verified by events, and on December 17, 1852, the administration was defeated on Mr. Disraeli's Budget. The Queen asked Lord Aberdeen to form a government. It was considered very unwise to leave Lord Palmerston

unemployed, as it was thought he might take the opportunity of combining with Mr. Disraeli, so he was offered the post of Home Secretary which he accepted, in a Coalition Ministry formed of Whigs and Peelites.

To Lady Jocelyn from Lady Palmerston.

BROADLANDS, November 4, 1852

MY DARLING CHILD,

I got your letter to-day from Fréjus. How it reminded me of that beautiful and interesting road, and I longed to be there. In my fit of enthusiastic recollections I even proposed to P. that we should take a little tour if Parliament did not sit long and go to join you at Nice, and what fun it would be! I should so like it, and to make him see that lovely country which he would admire so much. However, instead of these bright visions I must turn to the reality. Here we are and next Monday, the 8th, we go to town.

We are now here alone and had intended to pass two days at St. Giles,¹ but to my great disappointment we have been obliged to give it up as Pal[mersto]n has had a little gout in his ankle from a tight boot. We were prevented going last Monday by the Ashleys being ordered to Windsor that day—and when we were going to them yesterday with Vaughan this tiresome gout came on. But I have no doubt it will be well again in a day or two but it would not be prudent to risk a journey unnecessarily when we have London before us so soon—and the Duke W[ellington]’s funeral which is to

¹ Lord Shaftesbury’s house.

last from 6 to 7 hours, and think of the Walk from "Apostasy" House to St. Paul's! for a gouty Man! There are many speculations afloat in London—one is that if Lord Derby should not stay in, Lord Lansdowne might form a government, with Palmerston Home Office and leader in the H. of Commons, Lord John, Foreign Affairs and going up to the H. of Lords—all the — to join as they probably would under Lord L[ansdowne], &c. &c.—however, Lord Derby is in and I think he will remain so for the present. But I believe Lord John has opened his eyes to his own unpopularity and to the false position in which he had placed himself by his bad conduct to Palmerston, and, seeing that there was no chance of being Prime Minister again, I hear that he has notified that he would have no objection to serve under Lord L[ansdowne]. Palmerston on his side had declared some time ago that he would have no objection to serve *with* Lord John in a Governmt. on account of old Friendship, but that he would not serve under him. So if this Governmt. should fail, there is now the possibility of another being formed, but I am all for Ld Derby's Governmt. remaining if they do well.

The Militia answers wonderfully and the numbers are all got, I believe, and the Regiments out at Drill. Hobhouse could not come here because he was out practising with his 700 men.

To Lady Jocelyn from Lady Palmerston.

CARLTON GNS.

Thursday, 11th November 1852.

I am very glad to hear you enjoy your Climate so much. We certainly have not the Figs you

boast but our weather has been very hot ever since you went, so that at Broadlands we were obliged to leave off stoves, and almost fires, and tho' we had too often rain, the bright sun and fine days were quite delicious—more like Sept. than Oct. or Novr., and now here in London every body complains of the heat which has been quite unnatural. We think the Earthquakes in Dublin, Liverpool and Wales are connected with this.

I went to the House of Commons yesterday and Minny to the Lords with Lady Ailesbury. Everything smooth enough, and the Govern. have decidedly given up Protection¹ which of course makes Radicals angry, as they would like them to maintain Protection that they might have a good chance of turning them out. However, now every thing is quiet, and their fate depends on Disraeli's Budget, which is to come on in a fortnight. If it is a good one, they may keep in upon it, but if disapproved, I suppose Lord Derby must go out.

Every body is agog to-day to go and see the Lying-in-state² at Chelsea, and proposing means of seeing the procession or to go to the Cathedral—but I don't mean to do any of these things. It seems to me so unnatural and so grating to one's feelings to make a festival of a funeral! It's like an Irish Wake.

Ly Anne and F. Charteris³ dined here

¹ This acceptance of the country's decision was made clear in the debate on Mr. Villiers's motion, which ended on November 26, 1852.

² Of the Duke of Wellington's remains.

³ Francis Charteris, Lord Elcho, is well remembered as the tenth Earl of Wemyss (1818-1914). He had married in 1843 Lady Anne Anson, daughter of the first Earl of Lichfield,

Tuesday. Their Vanity is to be a pattern pair, and she talks of her happiness in having passed 2 or 3 months alone with him in the Highlands, and not even the Children to amuse them, for they were sent to Brighton. It is lucky when people place their Vanity in the right direction, and still more so if this entire devotion is real.

London is very full and I think amusing, from the great excitement for news and for Society—and as if we had no time to lose, having all met here for a short time. Ly Ailesbury is *très avenante* and as usual rushing after every sight. Wm. is better I think and says he is quite well. Their house is repairing and meanwhile they live at her Mothers. Ly Airlie has a Daughter and the next sister Alice is going to marry somebody.

We are all very busy in defensive preparations. The Militia has answered very well and the Admiralty is very active. I don't think there is any fear at present of Invasion but I am glad to see the Panic that has suddenly spread over the Country because they will not grudge the money for our defences, and it has hushed all the nonsense which the — used to talk—and the foolish conference of the ignorant. For 15 years Palmerston has been anxious at the unprotected state of our Coasts for a *coup de Main*, but now the name of the Empire seems to have had an Electric effect upon the whole Country. Ld Clarendon says he cannot attend to any home politics with the Invasion hanging over us.

To Lady Jocelyn from Lady Palmerston.

C. GARDENS, Nov. 18th, 1852.

We have had this dreadful funeral to-day, which harrows up one's feelings from the contrast of real sorrow and the Pageant and display which is naturally so theatrical. But it was altogether a fine sight and very touching to see all the Troops with their arms reversed and the respect and silence of the crowd. Minny and I went to Lord Hertford's house to see it pass, and it was two hours going by. St. Paul's we thought too melancholy and too great an undertaking, but Lord Palmerston went in the procession as representative of the Order of the Bath. The whole town was stirring and all the streets full at daybreak, so we are all of course very tired to-night—at least I can answer for myself. Spencer is come over but I have not yet seen him. Jocelyn is lodged in his house. Perponcher is just arrived *rayonnant* and Adine is also very happy that he is going to marry her sister, the C[omte]sse Antoinette de Maltzahn. Adine has so few things to make her happy that I feel quite overjoyed that she should have this satisfaction, which has long been the wish of her heart as it has also been her sister's. He is appointed to Turin, so we lose him here, which is a grief to us all, as he is one of the foreigners I like best.

Disraeli's Budget is on the 26th and then comes the Tug of War. After this day we shall see better the march of events, but my belief is that the Government will creep on till the beginning of next year, and that we shall separate

early in December, and Jocelyn will be able to go up to you; at least this is my wish and I believe the probability. I am often bustled but never enough to forget to write to you—*Ingrate*—as the Duchess of Inverness said to Granville.

Lady Palmerston was wrong, as it turned out. The Budget, postponed to December 3, 1852, had an unfavourable reception. It was rejected by a majority of nineteen a fortnight later, and Lord Derby resigned. The Queen sent for the veteran Whig leader, Lord Lansdowne, and for the Peelite leader, Lord Aberdeen. As Lord Lansdowne was ill, Lord Aberdeen undertook to form a composite Ministry of Whigs and Peelites. He induced Lord Palmerston to join him, much against the wishes of some of Palmerston's best friends, including his brother-in-law Sullivan. Palmerston, writing to Sullivan on December 31, 1852, defended himself adroitly.

“I am sorry you disapprove of my course, but the more I have reflected the more convinced I am that I was right. Lansdowne & Aberdeen came to me on the Tuesday and I then declined, but Aberdeen gave me *carte blanche* as to office, saying that nothing was then settled except that John Russell was to be Leader in the House of Commons, and as he had continued to be acknowledged by the Whig Party as their Hs. of Cns. Leader, it would have been absurd & useless for me to have objected to that. In declining I told Aberdeen, as I had earlier in

the morning told Lansdowne, that as to office I had long determined never to go back again to the Foreign Office. Lansdowne came to me again the next day, & his urgency & my own reflections led me to consent on condition that I should have the Home Office, which is the one I had long fixed my choice upon.

“Now I should like to know what other course you would have had me follow and what object & end you would have had me aim at? Perhaps you will say, to be Prime Minister myself; but that is not a thing a man can accomplish by willing it. He must first find himself the head of some large party, and then must be chosen by the Sovereign; I could fulfil neither of those conditions. I have for the last twelve months been acting the part of a very distinguished tight-rope dancer & much astonishing the public by my individual performances & feats. First I turned out the Minister who had dismissed me. Then I mainly assisted in carrying measures for national defence which I had in office for several years vainly urged upon my Colleagues. Then in this Session I saved a Govt. from premature defeat & brought together the largest majority that ever voted on any question, to affirm in the strongest terms the doctrine of Free Trade, & I thus saved the Hs. of Cns. from the discredit which the course they were going to pursue would have brought upon them. So far, so well; but even Madame Sacqui, when she had mounted her rope and flourished among her rockets, never thought of making the rope her perch, but prudently came down again to avoid a dangerous fall.

“Now the Derby Govt. being turned out & a

Coalition being formed of Whigs & Peelites, my refusal to join would *not* have prevented the Govt. from being formed, though it would no doubt have made the new Govt. less strong & less likely to last. But what would have been my position? I must either have been left alone between heaven & earth with the imputation of nourishing implacable personal resentments, and from my new position have lost much of my influence in the Hs. of Cns., or I must have accepted the invitation which the 310 Derbyites were preparing to make to me, to place myself at their head as Derby's Lieutenant & Disraeli's chief. If I had been a reckless adventurer, without principles to restrain one, without friendships to care for, without character to lose, such a course would have been a clear one. I might have become a factious Conservative and, unscrupulously attacking all the Party with which I have been acting for two and twenty years, and the men with whom I have been sitting for the last twelve months, I might possibly, supported by Spooner and Sibthorp & the rest, have put the present Government in a minority & have brought Derby in again & have become the Leader of his Government in the House of Commons. What would the great Liberal Party, not in the House of Commons nor at Brooks's nor at the Reform Club, but in the United Kingdom, have said of such a course; nay, to come to particulars, what would that party at Tiverton by whom I have so long been returned have said, & how should I have been sure of not having to go a-begging like Graham from one place to another?"

The loving confidence of brother and sister, which had never been interrupted by a cloud from their earliest youth, was drawing to a close. Lord Beauvale was very ill, and Lady Palmerston knew that the end was near. On January 14, 1853, she was sent for to Bocket. She wrote to her husband:

"I have got down safe, dearest, but find things in a sad way here—poor Adine wretched & crying—& Fredk. very suffering; the Gout seems to be spreading over both Knees, Arms & body so that he can hardly be moved in bed. It is impossible to think of taking him up *now*. The only hope would be some relapse in the Gout, which would make it possible to put him into one of those bed-carriages.

"I have told her that I must go up tomorrow—but if Fred is very bad I think I will keep a power of remaining on, if necessary—but you will probably see me arrive.

"It is so hard for her, poor thing, in her nervous frightened state to have nobody to look to.

"She is quite distracted to get up to town & will therefore seize any possible moment to bring him. He doses much from the Morphine, so I have not seen him since I came. In case I should find it *quite necessary* to stay tomorrow—you might tell our Coachman & Horses to go back at 6 o'clock if I was not arrived at Barnet."

When she left Bocket next day she knew that she had looked her last on that beloved brother

Frederick, who had cherished his sister "that little devil Emily" in youth, cheered her, scolded her, admired her from youth to age. The third and last Lord Melbourne died on January 29, 1853. Well might his sister say, "Frederick is gone, I have lost almost the best friend I ever had." Not a cloud had ever dimmed the perfect trust. Even while he scolded, he condoned. He did not like Lord Palmerston; nevertheless he did not try to stop a marriage which he believed to be for his sister's ultimate good. She on her side knew how much he depended on her for the news from England, which was everything to him in his life abroad, and for her shrewd and caustic comments on the events that were shaping the policy of England among the nations. Their marriages had, owing in a great measure to the wisdom, tact, and unselfishness displayed by both Lord Palmerston and Lady Beauvale, made no difference in the happy relations of the brother and sister. Lady Palmerston returned from the sad scenes at Bocket to the love of a husband who would do all in his power to prevent her sinking under the sorrow of losing one who had been so much to her. Her thoughts were all with "poor Adine who preferred to be alone. She will not leave his room nor his bed, nor take off her clothes, nor take any nourishment at all."

Lady Palmerston was now left the last of

the brilliant family of the powerful and unscrupulous, albeit fascinating woman, Elizabeth, Viscountess Melbourne. She was her brother's heiress, and to her now came the old home Bocket, with Melbourne, the estates in Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire, and the remains of the once colossal fortune amassed by her grandfather, the old attorney Matthew Lamb.

CHAPTER XIX

LORD PALMERSTON'S TRIUMPH

AFTER the death of Lord Beauvale it becomes more difficult to reconstruct the daily life of Lady Palmerston. Her letters to Lord Palmerston are short, written in terse sentences—the kind of letters which should be written to a busy man who had not much time to read them, however much he might wish to do so.

England was now on the eve of the Crimean War. In the spring of 1853 the Tsar Nicholas began to show a strong desire to put an end to the existence of "The Sick Man" of Constantinople. In July a conference of the four Powers, Great Britain, France, Austria, and Prussia, took place at Vienna, to suggest a compromise between Turkey and Russia. The Russian troops passed over the Pruth, to occupy the Danubian principalities. Turkey presented an ultimatum to Russia, and her army, crossing the Danube, defeated the Russians. Turkey's triumph was short-lived, for the Russian fleet destroyed the Turkish fleet at Sinope on November 30. The British and French fleets were then sent into the Black Sea, diplomatic relations

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with Russia were broken off in February 1854, and in March war was declared.

To Lord Palmerston from Lady Palmerston.

BROADLANDS, *Novr. 10th* (1853).

I saw the account of your Mansion House Festivities in the papers, which seemed to go off well, & the *Morning Post* as usual gave the best account—for that brute of the *Times* always tries to cut short anything flattering to you—nothing to signify—but it shews the bad disposition & jealousy. The *Times* says Ld Aberdeen & John Russell were cheer'd by the Spectators. The *Morning Post* says you were all three Cheer'd—and I dare say, You were the most so. Aberdeen's Speech was in the old stupid worn out style—all about Peace which comes so *mal à propos* at the present moment. I am very glad to find that the Turks have at last begun with having the first advantage.¹ It will deprive Russia of her prestige—and, I hope, destroy the exaggerated notions of her power.

God bless you, dearest, I don't like to take up more of your time.

BROADLANDS,
Friday, 11 Novr. 1853.

How hateful it is to hear of John Russell beginning again with his Reform Bill, and all to indulge his wretched Vanity! However, *per contra* the news from the East is very satisfactory & agreeable.

¹ In the early engagements north of the Danube,

The *Times* are quite thrown on their backs and don't know what to say at this unexpected turn of affairs, after having talked of *the fanaticism* of the Turks in daring to think of crossing the Danube.

Lord Palmerston resigned in December, ostensibly because the policy of the Government towards Russia was not sufficiently definite. This was the reason publicly given, but Lady Palmerston's Diary says on December 14 :

"Palmerston sent in his resignation after receiving a letter from Aberdeen, in which he said that James Graham would make no alterations in their Reform Bill,"

of which Lord Palmerston disapproved. Shortly after, the British Fleet was sent to the Black Sea. "The Cabinet sat on 22nd December," the diarist continues ; "everybody was frantic to get Lord Palmerston back—the Cabinet sat 5 hours and a half, and the Duke of Newcastle was deputed to negotiate with him." On December 26 Palmerston wrote to Lord Aberdeen : "I find that I was mistaken in inferring from your letter that the details of the intended Reform Bill had been finally settled by the Government and that no objection to any part of those details would be listened to." He went on to say that under the circumstances he could not decline to comply with the wish of many members of the Government that he

should withdraw his resignation.¹ He therefore returned to the Home Office.

It is easy to see from contemporary correspondence what a great position Lord Palmerston had attained in the political life of England at that period of her history. His jaunty manner and his way of settling matters without consulting the Queen, first irritated and annoyed her, but while the Whig leaders hesitated to recommend him for office on this account, he was powerful enough to make his exclusion from office an anxiety to them. He was suspected of Tory sympathies, and communications with the Tory party were made easy to him through his connection with Lord Ashley. It was thus a great relief to Lord Aberdeen when Lord Palmerston returned to the Government. Prince Albert gave voice to the anxiety which prevailed on this subject, by writing to Lord Aberdeen: "Should Lord Palmerston have stated his objections with the view of having the Measure modified it will be right to consider how far that can safely be done, & for the Queen also to balance the probable value of the modification with the risk of allowing Lord Palmerston to put himself at the head of the Opposition Party, entailing as it does the possibility of his forcing himself back upon her as leader of that Party."²

¹ *Letters of Queen Victoria*, vol. ii, under date of December 26, 1853.

² *Op. cit.*, under date of November 9, 1853.

Contemporary accounts also show what a part Lady Palmerston played in the world of politics, and how much her influence over her husband counted. She was known to wish him to retain office, and his doing so was attributed to her persuasion. She had hardly settled down to the relief which ensued and begun her parties, when a blow fell which paralysed her for the time being. On April 10 she had written a gay little letter to Lord Palmerston from Brocket, which she had inherited from Lord Beauvale. She was spending Easter there, and made little jokes at the expense of her son-in-law, who had wished to go and fight for Turkey but had been prevented by his wife's relations.

"I am come down very safe and the country looks beautiful and I long to have you here with me.

"I find there are plenty of flies at Hatfield so I shall not think any more of sending our carriage.

"Fanny is just come down but no Jocelyn. He comes tomorrow and he has sent to ask me by Fanny if I would have any objection to his bringing down Stanley of Alderley to dine and sleep so I suppose he will do so. Jocelyn never can move anywhere without a companion.

"I like very well to have him as Jocelyn likes it. I am only afraid that you should dislike it. However, I hope not, so I did not like to refuse the request. Jocelyn is so unhappy at

not being able to go to Turkey that I think Fanny is glad to do any thing to amuse him.

"I am anxious to know the end of Lord John's letter."

Dangers lurked at home as well as abroad. Had Lord Jocelyn been able to follow his wishes, his life might perhaps have been spared. On August 11, 1854:

"At 1 o'clock Jocelyn rushed into my room ill of cholera! All the rest is too dreadful to write. There never was such a day of misery!!! After 12 hours of distress and agony we lost him. The cholera symptoms were all subdued, he was warm and calm and thought himself better when his strength failed and he expired."

The cholera had broken out in the Tower where Lord Jocelyn was quartered, and he was an early victim of an epidemic which soon spread alarmingly all over England.

In January 1855, Lord John Russell resigned his office as Lord President of the Council. He had long felt that there should be a War Minister in the House of Commons, that the Secretary for War should absorb the office of the Secretary at War, and that instead of the Duke of Newcastle, "a man should be appointed who from experience of military details, from inherent vigour of mind, and from weight in the House of Commons can be expected to guide the great operations of war with authority and success."¹ There was

¹ *Life of Lord John Russell*, by Spencer Walpole, ii. p. 233.

only one person, he considered, belonging to the Government who combined these advantages, and that person was Lord Palmerston. Lord Aberdeen declined to change his course. When, therefore, Roebuck gave notice of a motion in the House of Commons to inquire into the conduct of the war, Lord John resigned. The motion was carried by 157 votes. Lord Aberdeen, looking on this as tantamount to a vote of censure, resigned, and Lord Derby and Lord John Russell both tried in vain to form an administration. When they failed, the Queen invited Lord Palmerston to undertake the task, and the course of events during this endeavour was chronicled daily by Lady Palmerston in her Diary written in London. On February 4, "Palmerston commissioned to form a government by a letter from the Queen at 6 o'clock." Next day "Palmerston was tolerably prosperous in his negotiations but the Peelites were disinclined and refused to join in the afternoon." The Peelites were Mr. Gladstone, Sir James Graham, Mr. Sidney Herbert, and the Duke of Argyll. "On Tuesday [February 6] came a change, and the Peelites accepted which many of our friends thought *quite necessary*. I believe, all things considered, that we should be better without them and certainly more popular. The acceptance has also this disadvantage that it has made rather a bother, the Whigs are jealous of the Peelites and some of them out of humour

and unreasonable." Lady Palmerston's shrewd judgment was borne out, when the Peelites resigned shortly after because Lord Palmerston announced that he did not mean to supersede the Roebuck Committee sitting to inquire into the conduct of the war.

Towards the end of December 1855, when the winter had caused hostilities to cease, Count Buol put forward in the name of Austria proposals for peace negotiations, and on January 16, 1856, the Czar accepted these proposals as a basis for negotiation. The relief was great. Lord Ashley, who had succeeded his father as Lord Shaftesbury in 1851, wrote :

To Lady Palmerston from the Earl of Shaftesbury.

ST GILES'S HOUSE, CRANBOURNE,
SALISBURY, Jan. 19, 1856.

MY DEAR MUM,

Give my hearty congratulations to Palmerston on this opening success to all his vigour, principles, good sense, & resolution.

Under God we owe to him, & him only, this hope of a just & secure peace.

But his troubles are only beginning. He must be as firm as ever ; *ask no more* than he has done, but *take no less*.

May God guide him.

No Protectorate, I hope, for the Danubian Principalities ! They must be independent & free, & as free States (which doubtless the Grand Turk would readily concede) they will

be tenfold more valuable to the welfare of Turkey than they can be otherwise.

Lady Palmerston, who had not forgiven Mr. Sidney Herbert his defection, wrote from St. Leonards where she was staying with Lady Jocelyn :

“ Lady Elcho wrote Fanny word that she had met Sidney Herbert in the train and never saw anybody look so disappointed as he does at the Peace news—evidently quite disturbed by it. No doubt it is a great blow to all that party and shows up the extreme folly of their conduct. I dare say he feels it in two ways—disappointment for himself & party, and also as destroying the power & prestige of Russia which is so dear to every Russian and therefore I have no doubt in the same way the *half* Russian.¹

“ The only thing that could have set them right with the public would have been the success of Russia, and the next thing (what I believe they fully intended to say) that you never would agree to any Peace with Russia. Now all their points have failed—and they must go and hide their diminished heads. God bless you, dearest—I hope to hear from you soon and I shall certainly return to you on Friday.”

On March 30, 1856, a treaty of peace was signed at Paris between Russia and Turkey, England, France, and Sardinia, and the great Crimean War with all its sorrows, its mistakes, and the shocking mismanagement which it disclosed, was over.

¹ Sidney Herbert's mother was a Russian.

Lord Palmerston was peculiarly gratified at receiving from the Queen the Order of the Garter "as a public token of her approval." The Queen had learned by experience to know the real merit of the great statesman whom she and her husband had formerly distrusted. Lady Palmerston, for her part, was not slow in pressing the claims of those who had done good service in the war, notably Admiral Lyons.

To Lord Palmerston from Lady Palmerston.

BROCKET,
Monday 19 May, 1856.

Pray, Pray make Lyons¹ a Peer. I really believe he was of very great service in pushing on Raglan and getting things into order. Every body wants it. I have had this letter today from the Duchess of Argyll, inclosing one of Lyons to somebody.

He may be an Intriguer and wrong in working up all this clan, but you will have all furious with you if you hold out, *et à quoi bon?* If you propose it to the Queen, she will agree, and with his reputation nobody will find fault; besides he is one of your most devoted adherents. It is much better to do it at once—pray listen to your wife.

Many thanks for your letter to me. It was *so kind* to write in the midst of all your bustle.

¹ Sir Edmund Lyons was reputed to have persuaded Lord Raglan not to evacuate Balaclava after the battle of November 25, 1854. He duly received his peerage in June 1856. His son, the eminent diplomatist, who represented this country at Washington and at Paris, was afterwards promoted to an earldom.

From the Duchess of Argyll.

[Enclosure.]

CASTLE HOWARD, *Sunday.*

MY DEAR LADY PALMERSTON,

I hope you will not think it wrong of me to trouble you now. I feel it very difficult to do it—and have felt so much for you in your great trial. But you are always so kind that I think it best to send you the enclosed, to show, or not to show, to Lord Palmerston as you think best.

I have seen a good deal of Sir Edmund and it is impossible not to like him, as well as to admire him—and one feels so much for the inconceivable amount of vexation he went thro' during all the time in the Crimea.

He seems to have been almost the only man who was unwaveringly convinced that Sebastopol *must* be taken—and it does vex one to see him looking disappointed.

I believe it is right to run the risk of being troublesome rather than withhold anything you may like to show to Lord Palmerston.

Lord Palmerston's first Ministry lasted until February 21, 1858, when he resigned. The Emperor of the French had narrowly escaped being the victim of a murderous attack, when he was driving with the Empress to the Opera. The conspiracy was headed by a man named Orsini, and the plot was hatched in London. There was much irritation in France with England for harbouring assassins, while England on her

side was much irritated by the threats against England which were made by colonels in the French army in their addresses congratulating the Emperor on his escape. Lord Palmerston thought it well, without paying too much attention to these threats, to introduce a Bill which made the crime of conspiracy to murder, hitherto only a misdemeanour, a felony punishable with penal servitude, and which also gave the Government power to expel any foreigner whom they suspected of plotting against any foreign sovereign. The threats of the French colonels might have passed unnoticed had not some of the addresses suddenly appeared—perhaps inadvertently—in the *Moniteur*, the official organ of the French Government. In spite of Lord Palmerston's assertions in the House that it would be unworthy of the English nation to be influenced in its decision by the threats of irresponsible swashbucklers, in spite of the repeated assurances of the French Government, who expressed regret at the publication of the addresses in the *Moniteur*, the nation was angry, and the Tories, who had not opposed the first reading, now turned completely round and on February 19, 1858, voted for Mr. Milner Gibson's amendment, "That this House cannot but regret that Her Majesty's Government, previously to inviting the House to amend the law of conspiracy at the present time, have not felt it to be their duty to reply to the important

despatch received from the French Government dated January 20.”¹ Lord Palmerston was said to have become rather brusque and dictatorial in manner, and he had annoyed some of his warmest supporters by giving the office of Lord Privy Seal to the extremely unpopular Marquess of Clanricarde, who, according to the Prince Consort, was “looked upon as a reprobate.”² He persisted in his resignation even when the Queen wished him to reconsider his decision. It is a remarkable fact that Lady Palmerston never mentioned the subject in her Diary. The defeat was so unexpected—for even the leader of the Opposition had spoken in favour of the Bill on the first reading—that many of Lord Palmerston’s adherents had not taken the trouble to come down to the House, at which Lady Palmerston was very indignant.

To Lord Palmerston from Lady Palmerston.

ST. LEONARDS,
Sunday [21 Feby., 1858].

I think you are all quite right. The House has behaved so abominably that I am glad they should find the difficultys of what they have done, and you go out on a subject to which no blame attaches, merely a sham reason and an excuse used by the Crafty to catch the fools.

¹ Count Walewski, the French Foreign Minister, had sent ■ sharp despatch to the French Ambassador in London, urging the British Government not to let the right of asylum be abused.

■ *Letters of Queen Victoria*, under date of February 21, 1858.

In my belief I think Derby will not be able to form a Government that will stand, and if they try a dissolution the cry will be Palmerston "and no base Coalitions."

(I am very glad also that you have had no time to bring in a Reform Bill.)

Sir Robert Peel and Shelley deserve to be whipt at the Cart's tail, and others who chose to take their pleasure will have to answer it to their Constituents, amongst others Rebow who came down in my train on Friday—when he told me he had come to fetch Lady Georgiana and to take her back to town on Saturday! How foolish he must have felt on Saturday Morning when he heard the News. After this we shall be much more comfortable and more happy when you are out of office, and we have more time to enjoy ourselves.

Lord Derby's Ministry lasted rather more than a year. He had promised a new Reform Bill, which Disraeli introduced in February 1859. But the Ministry were defeated on the second reading of the Bill on April 1; they appealed to the country and failed to get a majority. Lady Palmerston noted in her Diary: "People were very angry and the Government's conduct very bad and much blamed. They should either have resigned or brought in a new Bill or gone into Committee and altered this one, but a dissolution is wicked, as giving great encouragement to the Radicals." Under these circumstances Lady Palmerston gave one of her parties—"a very good and brilliant affair" as she

described it. Who knows how many doubting hearts were won by these parties, distinguished by the kindness, the grace, the charm of the hostess and her beautiful daughters, and the noble, eagle face of Lord Shaftesbury, her son-in-law, who combined Tory principles with the most revolutionary views as regarding the conditions of labour? The setting, too, was impressive—the great rooms, with many wax candles, and the yellow satin and gold furniture of the Empire period. The rooms, though large, were not numerous; a note as to “my dressing room which Jocelyn might have, if it were not for the party, when it is the only room I can use for a tea room” gives an idea of the trouble Lady Palmerston, and, it should be added, her devoted servants, took when she received her political friends.

Lord Palmerston had not long been Prime Minister when he determined to change his abode in London. The change was probably partly due to Lady Palmerston, who was fully alive to the advantages of so central a position as Cambridge House afforded. When the Duke of Cambridge died, Lord Palmerston acquired the lease of the house, 94 Piccadilly. The wall which separated it from the thoroughfare was given two gates, to allow the stream of carriages to drive in by one and out by another so that the road should not be blocked.

Seldom did a night pass without at least a

few guests to dinner. Young men were especially welcome : their politics could be suitably moulded to the views of the Prime Minister. Those who were young in those days speak yet of the genial hearty manner of the old beau as he slapped them on the back, and bid them welcome. Of the lady of the house, beautiful, serene, and gracious, they stood a little in awe, in spite of her kindness. "She was most beautiful, even as an old woman," said some one who remembered her well ; "her head held high, always very smart, and sparkling, and looking so well in her diamonds." Her fascinations did not die with her youth, nor did her energy. She seemed to be reborn after her marriage with Lord Palmerston, whose affection was that of a young lover.

The position she held in London, from the time when her husband became Prime Minister, has never been surpassed, and but seldom equalled. She had the uncommon experience of being able to recommence life at an age when most women were sinking into a desultory existence. She was stimulated by the great love of the husband of her old age.

Lord Palmerston had seized the opportunity given him by his retirement from office to pay a visit to France, with a view to acquainting himself better with the personality of the Emperor Napoleon. Lady Palmerston was anxious and depressed at not being able to accompany him.

The parties at Compiègne were tiring, the journey was tedious and uncomfortable, and she was seventy-two, but she could not bear to let him go without her.

To Lady Palmerston from Lord Palmerston.

9 P.M. 13th Nov. 1858.

I had a very prosperous journey this morning in Company with Mr and Mrs Mott (she was Caroline, daughter of Hoare Stanley, a great improvement on her two sisters). I met them on the Romsey platform and they came on with me to London, intending to go on this evening to their place in Norfolk. The air has been cold but I was well wrapped up and was quite warm. I have written to Holland to come to me at six, though I really feel I do not want any advice from him. I must send this to the post before that time. I heard from William that his grey Mare for his brougham is, as one might have expected, quite worn out. I have met with a young grey horse that will make a good match for the two last I bought, and we shall be able to give William one of our other and older horses, which will draw his brougham safely and well for some years to come.

I am very sorry to go to Compiègne without you but I should have been sorrier still to have gone with you, for I am sure you would have suffered in some way or other from the cold and the fatigue of the journey and from the Imperial roads. I have not seen anybody to tell me any news and I have purposely abstained from

Brooks's in order not to be questioned about my French journey. Goodbye.

How you will enjoy going to bed to-night after your short sleep last night and your early rising. I have desired the Rug I mentioned to be sent to you.

On June 11, 1859, the Derby Ministry was defeated on the Address by thirteen votes, and Lord Granville was entrusted by the Queen with the task of forming a Government. He failed, and the Queen sent for Lord Palmerston, who became Prime Minister for the second time, and was to hold the office as long as his life lasted. He was then seventy-five. No great measures were passed, but a period of peace and security seemed to have succeeded to the storm and stress of the previous years.

He never slackened in his work. The days and the events came and went. His devoted companion was always by his side. At Cambridge House, night after night she sat up to welcome her tired ageing husband on his return from the House of Commons, while the candles guttered to their sockets in the light of the dawn, to hear, to listen, and comfort. Her Diary chronicles her perpetual struggles against colds, neuralgia, fatigue. Her entries about dinner engagements in her Diary become frequently "had to send an excuse"—but she still held on. Then one day early in October 1865 the Diary contains the entry—"Palmerston

poorly but we drove out." They had taken their last drive together. The entries for the next few days chronicle only the arrival of doctors, until there were no less than four in the room at Bocket; the trembling old hand that made them, after the terrible event that devastated her soul had happened, refused to describe the passing hours any further. On October 15 her pen fell from her fingers as she wrote, "I was up all night. I can write no more." But the faithful friend who had carried not only physical healing but spiritual consolation to many a dying chamber was by her husband's side, and wrote down for her comfort the last words spoken by the impetuous soul passing fast into the other life prepared for him.

*Notes of a conversation with Lord Palmerston
during his last illness.*

In the course of my attendance on Lord Palmerston at Bocket Hall I saw him on Sunday morning, October 15, at 7 o'clock and found he had slept considerably during the night and was much refreshed. The alarming symptoms and imminent danger of the previous afternoon and evening had in great measure passed away. His manner was calm and self possessed, his replies to my enquiries showing that quickness of perception and power of mental analysis which enabled him so readily to select the salient points of conversation and to give the concise but pertinent replies for which he was so well known.

To those who have had the privilege of knowing Lord Palmerston in private life it will not be necessary to say, as to others, that he was often in the habit of assenting to what was said by only bowing his head or by a single word as "Yes," "Surely," "Certainly," etc., and that he invariably made a contradictory statement to any proposition with which he could not wholly agree and that in all matters of personal interest or selfish consideration he was altogether undemonstrative. I had anxiously watched for an opportunity of bringing before my patient the truths of salvation and of ascertaining his belief in them, and the present seemed the fitting occasion I had long sought for.

In dependence on the Lord I opened the conversation by saying in reply to his enquiry "what day it was" that it was Sunday and that I did not intend to leave him as I should not go to church. "Nevertheless we might, whatever our state, ill or well, in bed or otherwise, think of the Lord Jesus Christ who, as it were, on a Sunday rose from the Dead." "Oh certainly," was Lord Palmerston's reply. "How blessed it is," I added, "to know that He as our substitute stood in our stead when He died on the Cross 1800 years since, 'The Just for the Unjust to bring us to God,' that He then accomplished and perfected salvation, so much so that nothing can ever be added to it or taken from it. Then, my dear Lord, we must I think always be ready to admit that 'there is none that doeth good, no not one,' that we are all sinners." "Oh certainly," was again solemnly and deliberately uttered by Lord Palmerston. "How consoling it is then to know that the Lord came to call

sinners, not the righteous, and that to know Him is life eternal, to know that the Blood, that is the Death of Jesus Christ cleanseth from all sin. So much so that God accepts all who believe this record which He has given of His Son, that Jesus not only died for us who believe but rose again from the dead and now lives in the Presence of God to justify sinners like us, God giving to such eternal life, which Life is in His Son, so that they shall not come into judgment or condemnation. This assurance, dear Lord Palmerston, is very great comfort in this world of sin and sorrow. May I hope that it is yours also, that *you* believe in the Lord Jesus Christ and in all He has done for us according to the Word of God ? ” “ Oh surely,” was his unhesitating reply with distinct emphasis on “ surely.” On saying I was extremely glad to hear him say so, he repeated “ Surely, surely ” with such earnestness as to leave no doubt of the sincerity of his belief.

PROTHEROE SMITH, *M.D.*

BROCKET HALL,
Oct. 15th, 1865.

The end came on October 18, 1865.

Lady Palmerston sat alone in her desolation at Brocket, where she had seen first Melbourne, then Frederick die, and now the man she had loved so truly and devotedly for so many years, the pivot on which her life turned, the main-spring of all her actions. Her daughters even were not with her to comfort her ; they were far away over the seas in search of the health which had been denied to their children.

Among the letters she received were expressions that pleased her in their tribute to the dead. Her husband had died in harness, Prime Minister of England. Prince Alfred's letter showed the change in the Queen's feelings to the Minister whom she had once disliked and dreaded. Mrs. Norton's letter reads strangely, presuming on the past. The long days dragged on at Bocket. "It has been so dreary and wet here," she wrote to her younger daughter, "and I feel oh ! so restless and the days so long. I have had many kind letters but I have not the heart to answer them. How much I wish we had some sympathising person to read and pray with us, and lift one's heart up from all this misery here below that we are passing through. William is gone to town for the day. I feel so *utterly* wretched."

To Lady Palmerston from the Duke of Edinburgh.

MARLBOROUGH HOUSE,
PALL MALL S.W., 22nd Oct. 1865.

MY DEAR LADY PALMERSTON,

With the feelings of the deepest sympathy I write to express to you with what sorrow I have heard of the sad loss you have just sustained. I need scarcely say with what feelings of sincere affection and gratitude I, as must all other members of the Royal family, regard the memory of Lord Palmerston from whom I have so often experienced such kindness. The country will ever mourn him as one of its greatest statesmen

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and sincerest well-wishers. Not wishing further to intrude on your grief,

I remain,

Yours very truly,

ALFRED.

To Lady Palmerston from the Hon. Mrs. Norton.

EDINBURGH, *Novr.* 20th 1865.

You must be weary of reading from friends and from strangers—as well as from those who really belong to the joys and sorrows of your life—expressions of sympathy which cannot lift away a grain of regret, or fill in a particle of the blank left by the breaking up of long, dear and familiar companionship.

No one knows all this better than I do!—and yet I cannot return home and call “to ask after you”—without writing like others who have had their thoughts full of you, and of the dark closing in of your autumn this year—and adding my useless word of condolence, and my earnest hope that with all your other home ties—children and grandchildren round you—grief may be in some measure shut out (at least the loneliness of grief) by the consciousness of all you are to *them*.

I might say something more—as to the past—(though I cannot tell if we should feel alike on that subject). It is so very seldom that a woman can aid the career of husband or brother, that it should be very soothing to remember, in all the successes and popularity which crowned the distinguished life now ended, how much was owing to you, and came *with* you; and how you smoothed away many a thorn and many

an obstacle, and made success easy where it might otherwise have been difficult or impossible.

It was my dream when I thought to marry and live among the men who influenced their time, to be what I think you were, in this, the only reasonable ambition of woman, and though it may seem a light thing to speak of, in face of the solemnities of Death, it is *not* as light a thing as it *seems*, to have added so far to the happiness and security of a career of public usefulness and public elevation—beyond and besides the inner life of home, which *all* women have power over.

I hope your health has not suffered, dear Lady Palmerston, either from shock or fatigue! I have never made out how far this event was unexpected or the reverse. I heard there was little suffering—nothing of that added sorrow and pain which attended the death-days of your Brother at Brocket.

I am checked even in saying how much I have thought of you in grief, by the constant oppression the belief for years has been to me, that what kindness you have shewn me has been for that brother's sake only—and not from any link of sympathy with *me*. Yet all those that belonged to *him* have always been in my mind “a separate people” from the common world;—and I think, even as it is, I have been as sorry for *you* as if you were fond of me, and we had lived in constant communion of intimate friendship. My own friends and companions have died off too rapidly and in too great numbers, not to give me a very keen sympathy for such losses. Scarcely one remains of those I used to live with familiarly, even of those younger than myself!

But I say no more on this sad subject. All

England has regretted him whom you have to mourn, and I am grieved for your mourning!

I have been from place to place in Scotland lingering far longer than I intended, in the North—because my letters from Naples all come pierced and fumigated and full of accounts of cholera, in the very district where my sole remaining son is now;—and where, but for cholera and quarantine, I should be now established for the winter with his children. It is a very anxious time for me! I cannot take those young creatures into the midst of it—or go without them—and I am going now to my Brother in Dorsetshire to wait, hoping winter weather may stay these plagues.

I shall hear of you from many usual friends as I pass through London. You cannot think that in writing to you I dreamed of any reply. But I do hope and trust to hear tolerable accounts from those who have news of you and that you will believe I shall be anxious to get them.

Yours affect.

CAROLINE NORTON.

AFTERMATH

LADY PALMERSTON lived for nearly four years after the death of her husband. She recovered wonderfully from the shock, which had prostrated her at the time. Her sunny nature preserved her from the bitterness of the grief that kills. "Keep your own character, dearest Em, and make the best of things as you have always done," her brother Frederick had once written to her. She did this now. She had her children around her, and she took and enjoyed the love they showed her. She always allowed the natural emotions of the heart full play. A great-granddaughter remembers coming into her room and finding her in tears over the fortieth anniversary of her mother's death. Her Diary always records with words of tender affection and esteem the anniversaries, as they came round, of the death of her first husband. Those who remember her in the great airy drawing-room of the house, No. 21 Park Lane, speak of the fragrance of the room, the perfume of her garments, and the gentle kindness of the old lady who at eighty-nine still sat bolt upright in her chair. The little touch of feminine vanity which made her say to her daughter a

year before her death, "I think, Fanny, I must really begin low bodies again in the evening," reminds one of the lovely Lady Cowper with her matchless shoulders and carriage, sailing through the brilliant parties of a London Season in the "dashing gown" which her brother had so admired.

The last scenes of all are visions of memory: A little child running to throw herself into the kind arms of an old lady sitting on a sofa in the great window at Bocket, in her sweeping black robes, her cap with its black and white ribbons, and the jewel on her forehead. And the still, deep voice saying, "Who will fetch my green bag?" and the child, delighted, running for the green bag, muttering to herself, "lemon drops, lemon drops," of which the old lady always carried a store for her great-grandchildren.

That vision fades and there comes the last: In a great four-post bed, in a room next the dining-room at Bocket, a very old tired woman with a smile always on her lips, which the child was too young to know was brought there by the knowledge of a speedy reunion with him she had loved so well.

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